

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
INDO-IRANIAN SERIES.

Volume II

INDO-IRANIAN
PHONOLOGY



W-10000 PK2971
50000 .C72
V.2



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE

TO THE

MIDDLE AND NEW INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES

✓
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

INDO-IRANIAN SERIES

EDITED BY

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

PROFESSOR OF INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES
IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

VOLUME II

New York

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, AGENTS
66 FIFTH AVENUE

1902

INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

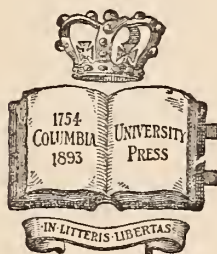
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE

MIDDLE AND NEW INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES

BY

✓
LOUIS H. GRAY, PH.D.

SOMETIME FELLOW IN INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES
IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



New York

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, AGENTS
66 FIFTH AVENUE

1902

PRINTED AT OXFORD
ENGLAND
BY HORACE HART, M.A.
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

TO
MY FATHER
AND TO
THE MEMORY OF
MY MOTHER

INTRODUCTION

THE united evidence of comparative linguistics, ethnography, and religion has established the doctrine of Indo-Iranian unity on a firm foundation, thereby affording a cardinal doctrine for the comparative study of Sanskrit, Avestan, and Old Persian. The work of Wackernagel and of Bartholomae, based upon this principle, has given the older dialects of the Indo-Iranian their due. But, on the other hand, the phonology of the Middle and New periods of this group has not thus far received the attention which it deserves, and it is in an attempt to supply the deficiency that this volume has been written. It aims to prove that the later Indo-Iranian dialects are still closely akin, and have had in many instances analogous developments, which are legitimate evolutions of processes acknowledged in the oldest Indo-Germanic languages of India and Iran.

A priori we should expect dialects derived from a common source to pursue similar courses of phonological development, as far as their surroundings, changing in course of time, permit. To deny this seems tantamount to attacking the entire principle of phonetic law on which comparative linguistics must rest. To affirm it is to give new strength to scientific research. The Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages show many developments in phonology which may be paralleled with entire justice. To such similarities I have sought to call attention, and I hope that the material which has been gathered may be of service to other linguistic students, and prove that the underlying principle of the book has its justification.

A paper of mine, entitled *Certain parallel Developments in Pali*

and *New Persian Phonology*, read before the American Oriental Society at Cambridge, Mass., in April, 1899 (*JAOS.*, xx. 229-243), outlined the method which I have followed in this book. I advanced my views on the comparison of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects before the Society in the following words :

‘It is a well-known fact in linguistics that languages which are entirely without influence one on the other often show a striking similarity in their development. The Indo-Iranian group is especially instructive in this regard, for its time-limit extends from the period of Indo-Iranian unity to the present day, while its geographical area stretches from the Sinhalese in the south to the Māzandarānī in the north, and from the Kurdish in the west to the Bangālī in the east. Between the Indian and the Iranian divisions of the Aryan dialects a development may be traced which is frequently closely parallel. . . . Such a study, which it is my hope and intention to make, might be of service in the study of dialectic developments in general, and although confined to the Indo-Iranian dialects, it might by its implications be not altogether without bearing on the interests of the great body of the Indo-Germanic phonology.’

The result of the investigations which I there proposed to make has been, at least to me, a signal confirmation of my belief.

Mine is not the first attempt to parallel the phonological evolution of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The first Orientalist who, so far as I know, drew attention to the connexion between the two great modern dialect-groups was Reland. He wrote in his study *De linguis insularum orientalium* (‘Dissertationes miscellaneae,’ iii. 86, Traj. ad Rhenum, 1708), ‘Nonnullae voces [linguae singalacae] cum Persicis conveniunt, uti *Aswajaa*, equus, اسپ *Asp*, *Rahasa*, arcanum, راز *Raz*, ܚܙܐ *Chaldaeis*, arcanum. *Bandinjai*, ligo, بند *Band*, *Dewijan*, Deus, Pers. دیو *Div*, Genius.’ (Cf. also Benfey, *Gesch. der Sprachwissensch.*, 241.) A very similar suggestion was made exactly a century later, when ‘en 1808 John Leyden fait du zend un dialecte pracrit, parallèle au pali, le pali étant identique au magadhi des grammairiens et le zend à leur

sauraseni. En 1819, Erskine fait du zend un dialecte sanscrit importé de l'Inde en Perse par le fondateur de Magisme, mais n'ayant jamais été parlé par les indigènes de Perse' (Darmesteter, *Le ZA.*, i. p. xxi, cf. *SBE.*, iv. 2, p. xxiii). In 1873 Trumpp in his *Grammar of the Pāṣtō or Language of the Afghāns compared with the Īrānian and North-Indian Idioms* revived the view that the later Indo-Iranian dialects were closely connected linguistically, even though his work was vitiated by his false theory that Afyān is 'an old independent language, forming the first transition from the Indo-Ārian to the Īrānian family, and therefore partaking of the characteristics of both' (p. xii. Cf. the approving remarks of Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxxiv-xxxv, as contrasted with Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, p. lix). Finally, in 1898, Horn, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 35 Anm., compared the Iranian change of *r* to *ē* in Skt. *vṛkṣa* 'tree,' Av. *varaša* : Phl. *vēšak*, New Pers. *bēšak* with the Prākritic *gēha* 'house' beside *gr̥ha* (see below, § 78). The same scholar also alludes to the mutations common to both dialect-groups of initial *y* to *j*, of intervocalic *k* to *g*, or its syncope, of the epenthesis of *-ary-* to *-ēr-*, and of the apparent substitution of *y* for intervocalic *d* and *g* (see below, §§ 331, 116, 128, 8, 256, 143). Geiger, *ibid.*, 208, notes that the occasional interchange of *l* and *n* in Afyān may be paralleled in Indian (see below, § 281). Against the view held by Geiger and Horn, Hübschmann has expressed himself emphatically (*IF. Anz.*, x. 23), but his objection seems to me scarcely valid.

The Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects which I have considered may be classified as follows :

a. Indian. 1. Middle Indian or Prākrit. This group embraces Māhārāṣṭrī, the Prākrit *kar'* ἐξοχήν, with Jāina Māhārāṣṭrī, Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī (also called Ārṣa and Jāina Prākrit), and Śāurasēnī, the principal Prākrit of the drama. These form the literary dialects called *bhāṣā* by Mārkaṇḍeya, while the lower Prākrits used in literature, Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, and others form Mārkaṇḍeya's *vibhāṣa* class. The other Middle Indian groups are Apabhraṁśa and Pāīśacī. Apabhraṁśa denotes the Middle

Indian vernaculars as distinguished from the Prākrits or literary dialects of the period. Pāīśācī together with Cūlikāpāīśācī seems to have comprised the dialects of the north and west of India (Pischel, *Gramm. der Prākrit-Spr.*, §§ 1-30, cf. also Hoernle, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332; Grierson, *ibid.*, ci. 258-274). A somewhat peculiar position is held by the so-called Gāthā dialect of the Lalita-vistara, and by the Prākrit of the inscriptions (Pischel's 'Lēṇadialekt'). The Gāthā dialect is an artificial composition of Prākrit bases with Sanskrit inflections (Macdonell, *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, 25-26), while the Lēṇa dialect, a popular Middle Indian *lingua franca*, shows many Sanskritisms in its Prākrit (or Apabhraṁśa) structure (Pischel, § 7). As Ardhamāgadhī and Jāina Māhārāṣṭrī became the sacred dialects of Jainism, so Pāli was the language of the southern Buddhist Church. From what district of India Pāli came is very uncertain. Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 90-91, very plausibly supposes that the country comprised by modern Gujarat was its home (for other views see E. Müller, *Pāli Gramm.*, viii-ix). The Middle Indian languages are not descendants of Sanskrit, but of the Vedic dialect and its neighbours. Buried for a time by the literary supremacy of Sanskrit, they emerged when the religious movements of Buddha and Mahāvīra and the development of the drama gave them opportunity, and they then proved themselves worthy of cultivation in literature, both sacred and profane (Pischel, §§ 13-15).

2. New Indian. The New Indian dialects are derived from the Apabhraṁśas or folk-dialects of the Prākrits. Any attempt to trace rigidly Modern Indian dialects to specific Middle Indian predecessors is difficult with the sources now under our control. Pischel, § 5, derives Gujarātī, or Marwārī, from Śāurasēnī-Apabhraṁśa, Marāṭhī from Māhārāṣṭrī-Apabhraṁśa, while Bihārī and Western Bangālī seem to come from Māgadhī-Apabhraṁśa through the Lāṭ, or Pillar, dialect. The Indian basis of Siṁhalese and Māladive is derived from a dialect closely akin to Pāli (Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 86-93). Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxiv-xxv, and *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332, Beames, *Comp. Gramm.*, i.

6-7, 33-34, and Grierson, *Seven Grammars . . . of the Bihārī Language*, pt. i, Calcutta, 1883, 3-7, should also be consulted.

I have discussed the New Indian dialects in the following order: Assamese, Nāipālī, Kaśmīrī, Uṛiyā, Bangālī, Bihārī, Hindī, Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Siṃhalese and its older form Eḷu, Māladive, and Gypsy. There are numerous sub-dialects in all of them. The most comprehensive classification of these languages is in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India, First, Rough List*, Calcutta, 1898. Here, for instance, sixty-four sub-dialects of Gujarātī are given with their districts and the number of persons speaking them; Bangālī has sixteen varieties of vernacular, and Western Hindī fifty-two. For further information see Cust, *Modern Languages of the East Indies*, London, 1878, 35-64, 158-161; Beames, *Comp. Gramm.*, i. 96-107; Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 88-89.

Language maps of India should also be consulted, such as those given in Hoernle's *Comp. Gramm.*, and his edition of the *Prākṛta-Lakṣaṇa*, Calcutta, 1880; Beames's *Outlines of Indian Philology*, London, 1868; Grierson's *Seven Gramm. of Bihārī*, i; Cust's *Mod. Lang. of the East Ind.*; Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Westminster, 1893, plate 10, and others.

b. Iranian. 1. Middle Iranian. The sole surviving representative of Middle Iranian is Middle Persian, or Pahlavī, which is closely related to Old Persian (Salemann, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 225-226).

2. New Iranian. New Iranian dialects are exceedingly numerous. They are divided as follows: New Persian and the dialects of the Pāmīr, Caspian, and Central districts, Afyān, Balūcī, Kurdish, and Ossetish. The Pāmīr dialects include Wāxī, Šiynī, Sariqolī, Rōšānī, Tājikī, Sanglicī, Minjānī or Mungī, Yidyah, and Yaynōbī (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Phil.*, i. b. 290-291). Caspian dialects are Samnānī, Māzandarānī, Lāhījānī, Gilakī, Tālīšī, and Tāt (Geiger, 346-348). The Central dialects embrace Gabrī, Šīrāzī, Bahbahānī, Sīvendī, Yazdī, Zafrahī, Kaśahī, Vōnišūnī, Kuhrudī, Nāyīnī, Natanzī, and Kāśānī (Geiger, 381-383). The Afyān

dialects are the Northern and Southern, which do not differ materially from each other (Geiger, 203 ; Darmesteter, *Chants pop.*, p. iv). Balūcī, the most primitive of all the New Iranian dialects, has two divisions, Northern and Southern (or Makrānī), which diverge considerably. The greater portion of Balūcī literature is in the Northern vernacular, but the Makrānī is the more primitive speech. North Balūcī is divided into Layārī in the North and Marrī in the South, while Southern Balūcī comprises Eastern and Western sub-dialects (Geiger, 232). The chief divisions of Kurdish are Lūrī, Kirmānšāhī, Gūrānī, Mukrī, and Zaza (Socin, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 249–252, cf. Justi, *Kurd. Gramm.*, pp. xix–xxvii). The sub-groups of the Ossetish are Tagaurish or Irish, Ironish, in the (North-) East, Digorish or Dugorish, in the (North-) West, and Tualish in the South. Tagaurish, of which Tualish is merely a sub-dialect, is by far the most important Ossetish vernacular (Hübschmann, *Etymol. und Lautl. der oss. Spr.*, 11–12). The admirable summary of New Iranian by Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 417–423, and his language chart, *ibid.*, 421, should be consulted in this connexion. Recent bibliography on Middle and New Indo-Iranian may be gathered from Scherman's *Orientalische Bibliographie*, and older literature is collected by Pott, *Techmer's Zeitschrift*, ii. 109–115, 209–213, 230–234, 241–248.

I have intentionally refrained throughout my work from footnotes and references to my sources, which would have unduly increased the size of the book. I have endeavoured, however, to work through the principal literature on my subject, and to be as complete as possible. For the Prākṛit I had to rely mainly on Hēmacandra (ed. Pischel, Halle, 1877–1880), Vararuci (ed. Cowell², London, 1868), and the Prākṛta-lakṣaṇa (ed. Hoernle, Calcutta, 1880). Lassen's *Institutiones linguae praecliticae*, Bonn, 1837 ; Hoerne, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311–332, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvii. 1–48, also furnished hints. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900, did not appear until after my manuscript was in the printer's hands. I have used it, nevertheless,

in correcting my proof, although sometimes, for typographical reasons, errors in the Prākṛit, arising from too close adherence on my part to the native grammarians, could be checked only by a reference to Pischel (e. g. §§ 25, 57, 121, 184, etc.). For Ardhamāgadhī I relied mainly on E. Müller's *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākṛit*, Berlin, 1876; for Māhārāṣṭrī on Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, Leipzig, 1886, and for the 'Gāthā dialect' on E. Müller, *KB.*, viii. 257-292, and Lefmann, *ZDMG.*, xxix. 212-234. The material on the Lēṇa dialect is drawn from Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyādasi*, Paris, 1881-1886. I used for Pāli the grammars of E. Müller (London, 1884), Frankfurter (London, 1883), Minayeff (tr. Guyard, Paris, 1874); Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik*, Berlin, 1876, and articles by Mitra, *JRASBe.*, xxiii. 604-614, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvi. 275-313.

For the New Indian I had, of course, the excellent, though somewhat antiquated, *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, by Beames, London, 1872-1879; Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar of the Gauḍian Languages*, London, 1880, and articles by Grierson, *ZDMG.*, xlix. 393-421, l. 1-42; *Calcutta Rev.*, ci. 258-274, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvi. 314-345, xvii. 99-182. Among my sources for individual New Indian dialects I may mention particularly Grierson's *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihārī Language*, Part I, Calcutta, 1883, and his papers on Kaśmīrī phonology, *JRASBe.*, lxv. 280-305, lxvi. 180-184; Kellogg, *Grammar of the Hindi Language*, Allahabad, 1876; Trumpp, *Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, London, 1872 (cf. *ZDMG.*, xv. 690-752); and the articles on Sinhalese by Kuhn, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1879, 399-434 (tr. D. Fergusson, *IA.*, xiii. 53-65); E. Müller, *IA.*, xi. 198-220, and Geiger, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xxi. 177-273. The latter scholar's *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, Strassburg, 1901, and *Māldivische Studien*, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1900, 641-684, *ZDMG.*, lv. 371-387, came in time to correct the final proof. My source for Gypsy phonology, a group of dialects to which I have referred but rarely,

is the study by Miklosich in the *Denkschriften der W. Ac. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, xxx.

The Iranian material is far less scattered. For Pahlavī I relied mainly on the *Manuel de Pehlevi* of de Harlez, Paris, 1880; Spiegel's *Grammatik der Huzvâresch-Sprache*, Vienna, 1856; the edition of the *Frahang-i Oim* and the Sassanian *Frahang* ('Old Zand-Pahlavi' and 'Old Pahlavi-Pazand' glossaries) by Hoshangji and Haug, Bombay and London, 1867-1870 (see the excellent new edition by Reichelt, *WZKM.*, xiv. 177-213, xv. 117-156), and the edition of *The Book of Arda Viraf* by Haug and West, Bombay and London, 1872-1874. Salemann's *Mittelpersisch* in the Geiger-Kuhn *Grundriss* came after the final proofs were read. This *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, edited by Geiger and Kuhn, Strassburg, 1895 to date, has been my main source for New Persian, the Pāmīr, Central, and Caspian dialects, Afyān, Balūcī, and Kurdish. It has been supplemented for New Persian material by Horn's *Neupersische Etymologie*, Strassburg, 1893, and Hübschmann's *Persische Studien*, Strassburg, 1895; for Afyān, by Trumpp's *Grammar of the Paṣtō*, London, 1873, Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, Paris, 1888-1890, and Geiger, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xx. 169-222; for Balūcī, by Geiger, *ibid.*, xix. 107-153, 399-464, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1889, 65-92; for Kurdish, by Justi's *Kurdische Grammatik*, St. Petersburg, 1880, and Fr. Müller's study on the Zaza dialect, *Sitzb. W. Ac. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, xlviii. 227-245. The Ossetish material is drawn from Hübschmann's *Etymologie und Lautlehre der ossetischen Sprache*, Strassburg, 1887. I also consulted numerous other works and articles for minor points or without results.

I follow Brugmann's *Grundriss* for the Indian transcription and the Geiger-Kuhn *Grundriss* for the Iranian, with a few additions and modifications, which follow. Indian: *m̐* instead of *ṃ*, *ś̐* instead of *ṣ̐*, and *ṣ̐* for *ṣ̐*, also *r̐*, *rh̐*, *l̐* for cerebral *r*, *rh*, and *l* (*ḷ*). In Middle and New Indian I write *ē*, *ō* before single consonants, but *e*, *o* before consonant-groups; for Sindhī I add, according to the system of Trumpp and the Royal Asiatic Society, *ḡ*, *ḋ*, *ḥ*, *ḷ*, 'uttered

with a certain stress in prolonging and somewhat strengthening the contact of the closed organ, as if one tried to double the sound at the beginning of a word' (Trumpp, *Grammar*, 13); for Simhalese, *ā*, *ā̄* have been added according to Geiger's usage, although I here transcribe his *ṁ*, *ṅ* by *m̄*. Iranian: I transpose the functions of *č* and *c*, and of *ǰ* and *j*, to harmonize with the Indian system, so that *c*, *j* denote palatals, and *č*, *ǰ* affricatae; for Afyān *g* I write *a*, in Balūcī *i* instead of *ī*, in North Balūcī *kh*, *ch*, *th*, *ph* instead of *k'*, *č'*, *t'*, *p'*, and in Ossetish *a*, *i*, *c*, *ch*, *j*, *č*, *čh*, *ǰ* instead of Hübschmann's *ä*, *ǐ*, *tš*, *thš*, *dž*, *ts*, *ths*, *dz*. Socin's Kurdish transcription is conformed to the regular Iranian system and compared throughout with Justi.

Numerous parallels between the phonological phenomena here noted and sound-changes in other Indo-Germanic dialects will at once be perceived. Thus the syncope of *g* discussed in § 147 may be compared with the same process in Attic ἐγών: Boeotian ἰών; Attic ὀλίγος: Tarentine ὀλίος; Latin *Iguvium*, Umbrian *Ikuvinus* beside later *Iiouvīnur* (cf. also § 143); Latin *rēgem*; Old French *rei*, Modern French *roi* (cf. Haag, *Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den romanischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1869; Brandreth, *JRAS.*, NS. xi. 287-316, xii. 335-364). Limitations of space prevented me from referring to such parallel phenomena in dialects outside the Indo-Iranian. For the same reason I abstained from any extensive explanations by physiological phonetics of the sound-changes which I have recorded, and from all discussion of inflection or syntax.

Errors of detail, explanation, and example will undoubtedly be found in my Phonology, and I shall be grateful for all corrections and additions. If, however, my cardinal theorem holds good, I shall feel that the work has been not in vain. I trust that the book may serve, besides its main purpose, as a contribution towards comparative lexicography of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages, and with this object in view I have cited examples from as large a number of dialects as possible. Throughout my work I have sought to present facts rather than theories. My general conclusions in each chapter are summarized at its beginning (see

§§ 1, 113, 460), and every paragraph is introduced by the results of my study of the material contained in it. The deductions gained from the entire book may be summarized thus: the phonological tendencies discernible as early as in the Old Indian and Iranian period have developed steadily, each on its own line, in the Middle and New dialects, and through regular divergency, no less than through similarity of evolution, the tie of Indo-Iranian unity is potent still.

To Professor Hopkins of Yale my thanks are due for his courtesy in lending me from his private library certain works of importance which would otherwise have been inaccessible. I am indebted to the excellent reader of the Oxford University Press, who has contributed in no small degree by his care to the accuracy of the book. Especially do I wish to express my gratitude to my friend and teacher, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, who has grudged neither time nor toil in his generous assistance. My student-life with him for *guru* at Columbia University, where this book was written, will ever be a happy memory. Well said the Sanskrit poet :

*ekam apy akṣaram yas tu guruḥ śiṣyē nivēdayēt
pṛthivyām nāsti tad dravyam yad datvā sō 'nrṇi bhavēt.*

LOUIS H. GRAY.

ABBREVIATIONS

Afy.	= Afyān.	N.	= North.
Apab.	= Apabhraṃśa.	Nāip.	= Nāipālī.
Ardhamāg.	= Ardhamāgadhī.	Nat.	= Natanzī.
Ass.	= Assamese.	Nāy.	= Nāyīnī.
Av.	= Avesta.	nom. prop.	= nomen proprium.
Āvant.	= Āvantī.	O. H. Germ.	= Old High German.
Bahb.	= Bahbahānī.	Oss.	= Ossetish.
Bal.	= Balūcī.	Pāś.	= Pāśācī.
Bang.	= Bangālī.	Panj.	= Panjābī.
Bulg.	= Bulgarian.	Pāz.	= Pāzand.
Dig.	= Digorish.	Pers.	= Persian.
E.	= East.	Phl.	= Pahlavī.
Eng.	= English.	Prāk.	= Prākrit.
Gab.	= Gabrī.	Rōš.	= Rōšānī.
GAv.	= Gāṭhā-Avesta.	Śāk.	= Śākārī.
Gil.	= Gilakī.	Samn.	= Samnānī.
Gk.	= Greek.	Sangl.	= Sanglicī.
Guj.	= Gujarātī.	Sarq.	= Sariqolī.
Gyp.	= Gypsy.	Śaur.	= Śāurasēnī.
Ind.	= Indian.	Šiyn.	= Šiynī.
Kaf.	= Kafirī.	Simh.	= Simhalese.
Kāś.	= Kāśānī.	Šīr.	= Šīrāzī.
Kaśm.	= Kaśmīrī.	Sīv.	= Sīvēndī.
Kuhr.	= Kuhrudī.	Skt.	= Sanskrit.
Kurd.	= Kurdish.	Span.	= Spanish.
Lat.	= Latin.	Tag.	= Tagaurish.
lexicog.	= lexicographical.	Tāl.	= Tālīsh.
Lith.	= Lithuanian.	Ur.	= Uriyā.
Māg.	= Māgadhī.	Vōn.	= Vōnišūnī.
Māhār.	= Māhārāṣṭrī.	W.	= West.
Mar.	= Marāṭhī.	Yayn.	= Yaynōbī.
Māz.	= Māzandarānī.	YAv.	= Younger Avesta.
Med.	= Median.	Yidg.	= Yidgī.
Minj.	= Minjānī.	Zaf.	= Zafrahī.
Mult.	= Multānī.		

* = hypothetical forms. > = becomes. < = derived from.

The titles of Magazines are abbreviated according to the system of the *Orientalische Bibliographie*.

INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

VOWELS

§ 1. The vowels of the Indo-Iranian period have remained in general unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. But beside the many instances of preservation of an original vowel, there are numerous examples of changes either in quantity or in quality, or in both. The most striking mutations will be found in the cases of original *a* and *r̥*. The reasons why these two vowels are especially liable to change are not far to seek. Indo-Iranian *a* = Indo-Germanic *a*, *e*, *o*, *ā* is the most simple of all the vowels. It represents, moreover, the so-called 'natural vowel,' the basis of all articulate sounds, which lies midway between *ā* and *ö* (Sievers, *Phonetik*⁴, § 209). It is thus self-evident that the Indo-Iranian *a* is particularly liable to change. The changes in question are ordinarily due to the influence of surrounding consonants. Labials often colour *a* to *u*, and sibilants colour *a* to *i*. From such a change of *a* to *u*, *i*, a further development to *ō*, *ē*, or to *ū*, *ī* may take place.

Turning to *r̥*, it is well known that of all the Indo-Germanic languages only the Old Indian and the Avesta have preserved Indo-Germanic *r̥* unchanged (Old Indian keeping also Indo-Germanic *r̄*, *ṛ*). Even the Old Indian has lost Indo-Germanic *ṝ*, *ṛ̃*, *ṛ̌*, and the Avesta has lost these sounds with Indo-Germanic *r̄*, *ṛ̃* in addition. In the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects we find a continuation of the process already begun in the older period by which the sonant liquids and nasals lost their original values, and became coloured by the surrounding consonants. Thus Old Indian

r, Avesta *ərə*, became *ar*, *a*, *ra*, *ir*, *i*, *ri*, and the like in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

The changes of the other vowels from their values in the Indo-Iranian period are not without analogy to the changes of *a* and *r*, although they are more sporadic. Labials frequently colour *i* to *u* as sibilants colour *u* to *i*. The change of *i*, *u* to *a* seems to be due to a weakening of the old value of *i*, *u* to *ə*.

The long vowels are subject to changes which are, generally speaking, analogous to those of the corresponding short vowels. Before two or more consonants all vowels, including also the Old Indian diphthongs, are to be considered short in the Middle and New Indian dialects. On the other hand, the simplification of a consonant-group is normally attended, in both the Indian and the Iranian dialects of the Middle and New periods, by the lengthening of a preceding short vowel.

The following paragraphs will contain more precise statements upon these several points in their proper places.

$$a = a.$$

§ 2. Indo-Iranian *a* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bharati* 'bears,' Prāk. *bharai*, Pāli *bharati*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pākā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kaśm. *papi*, Uṛ. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj. ✓*pak*, ✓*pik* 'ripen,' Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pakō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baraiti* 'bears,' Old Pers. *barati*, Phl. *baraṭ*, New Pers. *barad*, Gab. *bartmūn*, Kāš. *bartan*, Māz. *bavardan*, Gil. *bardan*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj. *yas(a)p*, Afγ. *aspā* (fem.), Bal. (*h*)*āps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*.

$$a > i.$$

§ 3. This change is not infrequent, either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects. As has been noted in § 1, the change of

a to *i* is due in many cases to the influence of a neighbouring sibilant.

a. Indian. In the Indian dialects *a* is changed to *i* more commonly in the West than in the East, so that the Sindhī shows the greatest number of examples of this phenomenon. The fondness of the Middle Indian dialects for the change was, on the whole, greater than that which is now shown by the New Indian.

Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Guj. ✓*pak*, ✓*pik*, Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *aṅgāra* 'coal,' Prāk., Jaina Prāk. *iṅgāla*, Guj. *iṅgār*, *iṅgōl*, Mar. *iṅgāl*, *iṅgōl*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' *yatra* 'where,' Apab. Prāk. *jīdhā*, *jetthu*, *jattu*, Pāli *yatthā*, *yatra*, Sindhī *jiti*. Skt. *dyūtakara* 'gambler,' Śāk. and Māg. Prāk. *jūdiala*. Skt. *tamasa* 'darkness,' Prāk. *tama*, Pāli *timisa*. Skt. *pañjara* 'cage,' Māg. Prāk. *pañjalaa*, Pāli *pañjara*, Ur. *piñjira*, Hindī *piñjar*, Sindhī *piñir*. Skt. *kṣamā*, 'patience,' Prāk., Pāli *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Hindī *chimā*, *chamā*, Panj. *khimā*, Sindhī *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Ur., Bang., Hindī *bakarā*, Panj. *bakkarā*, Sindhī *bakirō*, Guj. *bakarō*, Mar. *bōkar*, Gyp. *bakro*. Skt. **prathara* 'first,' Hindī *pahalā*, *pahil*, Panj. *pahil*, Guj. *pēhētō*, Sindhī *paharyōn*, *pahir(y)ōn*. Skt. *prahara* 'watch,' Prāk. *pahara*, Panj. *pahir*, other New Ind. dialects *pahar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *atarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ātaš*, New Pers. (ā)*taš*, *ātiš*, Šiγ. *yač*, Sarq. *yuč*, Gab. *taš*, Minj. *yūr*, N. Bal. *āc*, Kurd. *agir*, *ār*, *ēr*, Zaza *ādir*. Av. *yākarə* 'liver,' Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *jaγar*, Kurd. *jark*, Dig. Oss. *igar*. Av. *sata* 'hundred,' New Pers. *sad*, Afγ. *sal*, *sil*, Kurd. *sad*, Oss. *sada*. Av. *pairi* 'around,' Old Pers. *pariy*, Phl., New Pers. *par*, Bal. *pir* (cf. Sinh. *piri*). Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Šiγ. *γin*, Sarq. *γin*, *žin*, Minj. *žinga*, Gab. *jan*, Kuhr. *žan*, *jīn*, Zaf. *žan*, Afγ. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *žan*, *žin*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *anya* 'other,' Old Pers. *aniya*, Pāz. *han*, archaic New Pers. *hān*, Oss. *inna*.

$a > u$.

§ 4. The change of a to u in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is a very frequent one. It has been noted in § 1 that a labial often colours an original a to u .

a. Indian. As the change of a to i is more common in the western Indian dialects than in the eastern (see § 3, a), so the change of a to u is more frequent in the eastern dialects of India than in the western, and as a becomes i in Sindhī, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī, so a becomes u most often of all in Uṛiya and Bangālī.

Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paṭhuma*, *puḍhuma*, *puḍhama*, *paḍhama*, Pāli *paṭhama*. Skt. *pr̥thaktva* 'peculiarity,' Jāina Prāk. *puhutta*. Skt. *manuṣa* 'man,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *munisa*, *manusa*. Skt. *pañcaviṃśati* 'twenty-five,' Pāli *pañṇuvīsati*. Skt. *karkaṭika* 'cucumber,' Uṛ. *kāṁkurī*, Bang. *kāṁkur*, Hindī *kakarī*. Skt. *mudgara* 'club,' Prāk., Pāli *moggara*, Uṛ. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugur*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhī *muṁirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *aṅgulikā* 'finger,' Apab. Prāk. *aṅguliu*, Pāli *aṅgulikā*, Nāip. *awṇlō*, Bihārī *aṅgurī*, Hindī *uṅgalī*, *aṅgulī*, Panj. *uṅgulī*. Skt., Pāli *dhanu* 'bow,' Simh. *ḍunu*. Skt. *manōrama* 'delightful,' Simh. **manurama-ka > manumaraka* 'grandson,' New Simh. *munuburā*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *samudda*, *samudra*, Pāli *samudda*, Simh. **hamuda > *mahuda > muhuda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vanā* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *bun*, Kāš. *bana*, Afy. *vana*, Bal. *gvan*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Phl. *x^aatāi* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi*, Šiy., Sarq. *qudā*, Kurd. *xadē*, *xudē*. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šavad*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šubā*, Kurd. *čan*, Oss. *caṁ*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiy. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safōr*, Afy. *čalōr*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Wāxī *pus*, Afy. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *paz*, Dig. Oss. *fus*, Tag. *fis*. Av. *✓x^aan* 'call,' Phl.

x^vantānō, New Pers. *x^vāndan*, Wāxī *kandam*, Šiγ. *šandam*, Sarq. *šāndam*, Bal. *vānag*, N. Bal. *vānaγ*, Kurd. *x^vāndin*, *xūndin*, Oss. *xund*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, *tišnak(īh)*, New Pers. *tiš*, Šiγ. *tašna(gī)*, Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, Gab. *tašna*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afγ. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*.

a > ā.

§ 5. The change of *a* to *ā* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is due in the great majority of instances to compensatory lengthening, as noted in § 1. Sporadic cases of inorganic lengthening of an original *a* are not infrequent.

a. Indian. In the New Indian dialects Bangālī prefers the long vowel by compensatory lengthening before a simplified consonant-group, while Panjābī and Sindhī show short vowels, the Panjābī having a repeated consonant and the Sindhī a single one. Hindī stands midway between the two extremes in this regard. The Braj dialect of Hindī is especially fond of changing *a* to *ā*, and it is followed here by its sister dialects, the Mār-wārī, Māiwārī, and Kanāujī. In Marāṭhī the root-vowel of the infinitive is frequently lengthened.

Skt. *saṃṛddhi* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *sāmiddhi*, Pāli *samiddhi*. Skt. *saṛṣapa* 'mustard,' Jāina Prāk. *sāsava*, Pāli *sāsapa*. Skt. *sparśana* 'touch,' Prāk. *phāsa*, Pāli *phassa*. Skt. *pradakṣiṇa* 'pertaining to the right hand,' Gāthā *prādakṣiṇa*. Skt. *pākva* 'ripe,' Nāip. *pāk*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, etc. (see § 2). Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Ass. *bācru* (pron. *bāsrū*), Kāśm. *vūč*, Uṛ. *bāchurī*, Bang. *vācchā*, *bāccā*, E. Hindī *bāch*, Hindī *bacharū*, *bacharā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhī *bācō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacrēm*, *vāsrūn*. Skt. *khaṭvā* 'bedstead,' Prāk. *khaṭṭā*, Uṛ. *khāṭa*, Bang. *khāṭ(alā)*, Hindī *khāṭ*, Panj. *khatt*, Sindhī *khaṭ*, Guj., Mar. *khāṭ*. Skt., Pāli *kacchapa* 'tortoise,' Uṛ. *kachima*, Bang. *kāchima*, Hindī, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhī *kachūm*. Skt. *calana* 'course,' Uṛ. *cālibā*, Braj *cālanāwīm*, Hindī *calanā*, Mar. *cālanēm*. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Uṛ., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sāmc*, Hindī *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,'

Prāk., Pāli *nagga*, Ur. *naṁgalā*, Bang. *nēmṭā*, Hindī *naṁgā*, E. Panj. *naṁgā*, W. Panj. *nāṁgā*, Sindhī *naṁgō*, Guj. *nāguṁ*, Mar. *naṁgā*, *naggā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl., New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nūk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Skt. *parut* 'last year,' New Pers. *pār*, Wāxī *pard*, Sarq. *parvus*, Afy. *parōs*, Bal. *pārī*, N. Bal. *phārī*, Dig. Oss. *fara*, Tag. *faron*. Av. *hazāra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hazār*, Wāxī *hazūr*, Sarq. *hazōr*, Afy. *zar*, Kurd. *hazār*. Av. *taθra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāvi*, Afy. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gil. *varf*, Afy. *vāvra*. Av. *marəta* 'man,' Old Pers. *martiya*, Phl. *mart*, New Pers. *mard*, Gab. *mārd*, Sīv. *mīrd*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mīr*, *mēr*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Wāxī, Sang. *lav*, Gab. *lāv*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Wāxī *sur(ī)*, Gab. *sart*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, Bal. (*h*)*āps*, etc. (see § 2). Av. *pašcat* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl. *pas(in)*, New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Kāš. *pac*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pašva*, *pāšī*, Dig. Oss. *fastaga*, Tag. *fastag*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusrū*, *xusū*, Wāxī, Šiy. *xaš*, Kāš. *xusrū*, Afy. *x^vāša*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassu*, *xusrū*.

$a > \bar{i}$.

§ 6. This change is a very rare one.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Sarq. *γīn*, *žīn*, etc. (see § 3).

$a > \bar{u}$.

§ 7. This change is closely akin to the one described in the preceding paragraph.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Kāśm. *vūč*, etc. (see § 5).

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Afy. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, etc. (see § 3). Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, etc. (see § 4). Av. *maiḍyana* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, Wāxī *malung*,

Šiy. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, Sangl. *mīda*, Afγ. *mlā*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mīdag*. New Pers. *namak* 'salt,' Šiy. Šīr. *nīmīk*.

$a > \check{e}$.

§ 8. This change is of comparatively rare occurrence. It is due very frequently to the palatalizing influence of a neighbouring *y*.

a. Indian. In the Middle and New Indian dialects *e* is long only before single consonants: before a consonant-group it is to be considered short. Of the New Indian dialects Panjābī and Gujarātī show the greatest number of examples of the change of *a* to \check{e} . The intermediate step of the change from *a* to \check{e} is shown by the change of *a* to *ā* in Sinhalese, or by the Marāṭhī *āi* developed from Indian *a* (the reverse of the Panjābī change of Old Indian *āi* to *a*).

Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, *accharia*, *acchaara*, *accharijja*, Pāli *accharia*, *acchēra*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *acaraḡa*. Skt. *śayyā* 'bed,' Prāk. *sejjā*, Pāli *seyyā*, Hindī *sēj*, Mar. *śēj*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kāśm. *truvāh*, Ur., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindī *tērah*, W. Hindī *tērā*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhī *tērahaṁ*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Simh. *teles*. Skt. *phalgu* 'empty,' Pāli *pheggū*. Skt. *sandhi* 'burglar's mine,' Prāk., Pāli *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kāśm. *san*, Ur., Bang. *sindh*, E. Hindī *sēnh*, Hindī *sēndh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhī *sēndhi*, Mult. *sandh*. Skt. *laharī* 'wave,' Hindī *lahar*, Panj. *lahir*, Guj. *lēhēr*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Hindī, Panj. *bahirā*, Guj. *bēhēr*, Simh. *bihira*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Pāli *kavāṭa*, Ur., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Bihār. *kēvār(ā)*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*.

Skt. *aṣṭi* 'eight,' Prāk., Pāli *aṭṭha*, Kāśm., Ur., Bihārī, Hindī *āṭh*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhī *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *āṭh*, Simh. *āṭa*. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass. *māj*, Kāśm. *maṁz*, Ur. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindī *majhi*, *māṁjh*, *maṁh*, Panj. *māṁjh*, *majjh*, Sindhī *maṁjhi*, Mar. *mājh*, Simh. *māda*, inscriptions *mānda*. Skt., Prāk. *jana* 'person,' Simh. *dena*, *dana*.

Skt. *vaṅgana* 'egg-plant,' Ur. *bāigu*, Bang. *bēgun*, Hindī

bāiṅgan, Panj. *bāiṅam*, Mar. *bāiṅgan*. Skt. *saptacatvarimśat* 'forty-seven,' Kaśm. *satatājih*, Uṛ. *satecālīśa*, Bang. *śatcalīś*, Bihār., Hindī *sāintālis*, Panj. *saṁtālī*, Sindhī *satētālīh*, Guj. *sūḍtālīs*, Mar. *sattēcālīs*.

b. Iranian. The change of Indo-Iranian *a* to *ē* is very rare in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Kurdish. In the Zaza dialect of the Kurdish the Iranian *a* is often pronounced *āi*.

Samn. *dū* verbal prefix, Māz. *da*, Gil. *da*, *dā*, *dī*, Afy. *da*, Kurd. *dē*, *da*, Oss. *d-*. Av. *√karəš* 'drag,' Phl. *kašūtanō*, Afy. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašay*, Kurd. *kēšān*, *kišān*. Old Pers. *martiya* 'man,' Kurd. *mir*, *mēr*, etc. (see § 5). Av. *xšvašti* 'sixty,' New Pers. *šašt*, *šast*, Afy. *špēta*, Kurd. *šašt*. Av. *taršti* 'flight,' Afy. *tēšta*. Av. *xʷarəhar* 'sister,' Phl., New Pers. *xʷāhar*. Wāxī *xʷui*, Sarq. *yaxi*, Sangl. *ixʷa*, Minj. *yaxʷa*, Afy. *xōr*, Bal. *gvahār*, Kurd. *xōh*, *xūha*, Zaza *vai*, Oss. *xora*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxī *hāθ*, *hat*, Šiy. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yayn. *uxs*, Afy. *ata*, Zaza *haišt*, Oss. *asth*.

a > *ō*.

§ 9. This change, like the preceding one, is not of frequent occurrence either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. It is well known that the common pronunciation of an original *a* approaches *ō* in Assamese, Uṛiya, and Bangālī. The change of *a* to *o* is most common in Uṛiya and Bangālī, and in Sinhalese it often occurs near *l* developed from a cerebral or dental.

Skt. *badura* 'jujube tree,' Prāk. *vōra*, Pāli *badara*, Uṛ. *bara* (pron. *bōrō*), Bang. *baīr*, Hindī, Panj. *bāir*, *bēr*, Sindhī *bēru*, *bēri*, Guj., Mar. *bōr*. Skt. *sammarṣa* 'confusion,' Pāli *sammōsa*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Mar. *bōkar*, etc. (see § 3). Skt. *śmaśru* 'moustache,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṁsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihār. *mōmch*, Hindī *mūch*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhī *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *cakṣu* 'eye,' Prāk., Pāli *cakkhu*, Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*. Skt. *caṅcu* 'beak,' Bang. *cōmṭha*, Hindī, Mar.

cōme. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha*, Pāli *ekādasa*, Kaśm. *kāh*, Ur., Bang. *ēgāra*, E. Hindī *ēgyārah*, Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giāraṁ*, Sindhī *ikārahaṁ*, *yārahaṁ*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*. Skt. *pṛth(ī)vī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavī*, *puha(v)ī*, Pāli *paṭhavī*, *pathavī*, Old Hindī *puhumī*, Sinh. *polava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maḍu* 'mead,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Kurd. *mōt*, Oss. *mud*, *mid*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Wāxī *pānz*, Šīy., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *pānz*, Minj. *panc*, Yidg. *pānš*, Samn. *punj*, Afy. *pinja*, Kurd. *panj*, *pēnj*, Oss. *fonj*. Skt. *√dam* 'tame,' New Pers. *dām* 'domestic animal,' Oss. *domun* 'to tame.'

a > au.

§ 10. This change is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caḥṣu* 'eye,' Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*, etc. (see preceding §, a).

b. Iranian. Av. *pacata* 'cooked,' Phl. *puxtanō*, New Pers. *puxtān*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Gab. *paxtmūn*, Kāš. *patēn*, Māz. *paxta*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Zaza *paujana*, Oss. *fičun*.

Aphaeresis of a.

§ 11. The loss of an initial *a* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is not uncommon.

a. Indian. Aphaeresis of *a* in the Indian dialects is especially frequent when the initial vowel is unaccented and is followed by an accented syllable.

Skt. *alanākāra* 'adornment,' Prāk. *alanākāra*, *alanākia*, Pāli *lanākāra*, Elu *lakara*. Skt. *adhas* 'below,' Prāk. *hetṭha*, Pāli *hetṭhā*, Ur., Bang. *hēṭha*, Sindhī *hēṭhē*, Guj. *hēṭhē*, Mar. *hēṭ*. Skt. *avatrāṇa* 'rescue,' Ur. *bacāribā*, Bang. *bācān*, Hindī *bacāmnā*, Mar. *vacāviṇēm*. Skt. *araṇya* 'forest,' Mahār. Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Śāur. Prāk. *araṇṇa*, Pāli *araṇṇa*, Old Hindī *raṇij*, Hindī *ran*,

Sindhī *riñ*, *riṇu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, Sinh. *raṇa*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prāk., Pāli *amacca*, Sinh. *māti*. Skt., Pāli *atasī* 'linseed,' Kaśm. *aliś*, Ur. *tēsī*, Bang. *tīśī*, Hindī *tīsī*, *alsī*. Skt. *aśōka* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *asōa*, Pāli *asōka*, Sinh. *hō*. Skt. *anurāga* 'love,' Prāk. *aṇurāa*, Sinh. *nurā*. Skt. *avaṭa* 'ditch,' Sinh. *vaḷa*.

b. Iranian. In New Persian it is a law that initial *a* before a single consonant is dropped.

Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Wāxī *yangl*, Šiy. *angašt*, Sarq. *ungaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Siv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*, cf. also New Pers. *anguštar* 'ring,' Kurd. *gustir*. Av. *asēga* 'stone,' Old Pers. *aθqaina*, Phl., New Pers. *sang*. Av., Old Pers. *azdā* 'knowledge,' Afy. *zda*. Av. *apqs* 'open,' Phl. *apāc*, *apāj*, Pāz. *awāž*, *awāz*, New Pers. *bāz*, Wāxī *vāz*, Sarq. *vūz*, Bal. *pac*, Kurd. *vāžī*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxam* 'of us,' Pāz. *ēmā*, New Pers. *mā*, Oss. *max*. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *burnā*, *barnā*, Afy. *vōr*. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Māz. *samā*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *ažmān*.

Syncope of a.

§ 12. The syncope of internal *a* is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Syncope of Indo-Iranian *a* is quite rare in the New Indian dialects, and it is rarer still in the Middle Indian period. Entire syncope of an original *a* is often preceded by the weakening of *a* to the so-called 'neutral vowel' *ə*, in case *a* is unaccented but is preceded or followed by an accented syllable.

Skt. *pūgaphala* 'areca-nut,' Prāk. *popphala* < **pūgphala*, Guj. *pōphal*, Mar. *pōphal*. Skt. *jāgarati* 'watches,' Prāk. *jaggax*, Pāli *jaggati*, Ur. *jāganā*, Bang. *jāgitē*, Sindhī *jāgaṇu*, Guj. *jāgaruñ*, Mar. *jāgaṇēm*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubara*, *dūbar*, Hindī *dublā*, Sindhī *ḍubīrō*, *ṛabalō*, Guj.

dubal(a), Mar. *dubal*. Skt. *cāmara* ‘fly-whisk,’ Prāk., Pāli *cāmara*, Bang. *camrā*, Hindī *cāunirī*, Mar. *cāmar*, *cāurī*, Anglo-Ind. *chowry*.

b. Iranian. Syncope of Indo-Iranian *a* is more common in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

Av. *yazatanam* ‘of the angels,’ Phl. *yaztān*, *yazdān*, New Pers. *yazdān* ‘God.’ Av. *paθana* ‘broad,’ Phl. *pahn(āi)*, Afγ. *plān*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *axšaēna* ‘blue,’ Phl., New Pers. *xašin*, Afγ. *šin* but fem. *šna*, Kurd. (*ha*)*šin*, Oss. *axsinag*. Av. *nəmah* ‘homage,’ Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāž*, New Pers. *namāz*, Afγ. *nmunj*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nīmī(š)*, *namūž*, *namēž*. Av. *vīsaiti* ‘twenty,’ Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Afγ. *vīšt*, Bal. *gīst*.

Apocope of *a*.

§ 13. The apocope of Indo-Iranian *a* is a very frequent phenomenon in the New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. The Middle Indian dialects retain the final *a* unchanged. In the New Indian the final *a* of the Old and Middle Indian dialects is dropped unless it bears the accent. If final *a* is accented it is lengthened in Hindī. In Ur. and Bang. on the other hand final *a* is often pronounced.

Skt. *mudgara* ‘club,’ Prāk., Pāli *moggara*, Ur. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugura*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhī *muñirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *satya* ‘true,’ Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Ur., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sāmc*, Hindī *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* ‘thirteen,’ Prāk. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kāśm. *truwāh*, Ur., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindī *tērah*, W. Hindī *tērā*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhī *tēraham*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Simh. *teles*.

b. Iranian. The Middle Iranian dialects, unlike the Middle Indian, do not retain original final *a*. The New Iranian dialects follow the Middle Iranian in this regard, but the Digaurian Ossetish often retains the final *a* unchanged.

Av. *darəya* ‘long,’ Old Pers. *darga*, Phl. *darg*, Afγ. *lārya*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*. Old Pers. *tigra* ‘sharp,’ Phl. *tēj*, Pāz. *tēž*,

New Pers. *tēz*, Wāxī *tiz*, Sarq. *taiz*, Kurd. *tīž(ī)*. Av. *sarəda* 'year,' Phl., New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, Tag. *sard*. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum* 'tenth,' New Pers. *dah* 'ten,' Wāxī *das*, *las*, Šiy. *δīs*, *lis*, Sarq. *das*, Sangl., Yaḡn. *das*, Afγ. *las*, Oss. *das*.

Prothesis of a.

§ 14. Prothesis of *a* is not found in the Middle period either of the Indian or of the Iranian dialects. In New Indian the colloquial Hindī prefixes *a* to words beginning with a consonant-group whose first member is *s*. In the New Persian prothesis is one of the most common phenomena, since in that language no word may begin with a consonant-group. Prothesis of *a* is also quite common in Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' colloquial Hindī *asnān*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' colloquial Hindī *asthān*. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' colloquial Hindī *astrī* or *istrī* (see below, § 36).

This prothesis is also found in foreign loan-words, such as Eng. *school*, colloquial Hindī *askūl*, *iskūl*.

b. Iranian. Av. *brvaṭ* 'brow,' Phl. *brū*, New Pers. *abrū*, Wāxī *varao*, Šiy. *vruγ*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vuriγ*, Gab. *burā*, Afγ. *vrūja*, Bal. *burvān*, *birvān*, Kurd. *burū*, *burī*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *stārə* 'star,' Phl. *stārak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Afγ. *stōrai*, Bal. *astār*, *istār*, Kurd. *istirk*, Oss. *stali*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brātar*, New Pers. *birādar*, Wāxī *vrūt*, Šiy. *vrod*, *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Afγ. *vrōr*, Bal. *brāt*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*.

$$\bar{a} = \bar{a}.$$

§ 15. Indo-Iranian *ā* is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects of all periods.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Pāli *dhārēti*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhi *vāghu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāidi* 'canal,' Wāxī *vād*, Šiy. *vēd*, Sarq. *vād*.

Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pāi*, Wāxī *pūd*, Šiγ. *pāδ*, Sangl. *puδ*, Gīl. *pō*, Tāt *pā*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phāδ*, *phāz*. Av. *gātu* 'place,' Old Pers. *gāθu*, Phl. *gās*, New Pers. *gāh*, Afγ. *γālai*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxam* 'of us,' New Pers., Kurd. *mā*, Oss. *max*.

$\bar{a} > a$.

§ 16. The shortening of an original \bar{a} is the most frequent change of all those to which this sound is subject, whether in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects. It is well known that the doubling of an original single consonant or the retention of an original consonant-group causes a preceding long vowel to become short in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. Beside the regular shortening of original \bar{a} under the conditions just described there are numerous instances of sporadic shortening of original \bar{a} .

a. Indian. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāgh*. Skt. *mārgaśira* 'November-December,' Apab. Prāk. *maggasiru*, Pāli *māgasira*, *maggasira*. Skt. *upasthāpitva* 'having established,' Gāthā *upasthapitva*. Skt. *dēvalaya* 'temple,' Uṛ. *dēula*, Bang., Hindī *dēval*, Panj. *dēvalā*, Sindhī *dēvalī*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēul*. Skt. *mārga* 'road,' Apab. Prāk. *maggu*, Pāli *magga*, Hindī *mag*, *māṁgā*, Sindhī *māḡu*, other New Ind. dialects *māg*. Skt. *mahārg̃ha* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahaṁga*, Nāip. *mahaṁgō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahaṁgā*, Panj. *mahiṁgā*, Sindhī *mahaṁgō*, Guj. *mōṁghuṁ*, Mar. *mahāg*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khāi*, Pāli *khādati*, Nāip. *khaibōm*, Kaśm. *khyun*, Uṛ. *khānā*, Bang. *khāitē*, Sindhī *khāṁu*, Guj. *khāvuṁ*, Mar. *khāṇēm*, Sinh. *kanavā*, Gyp. *cha*. Skt. *bhāgiṇēya* 'sister's son,' Māhār. Prāk. *bhāgiṇēja*, Pāli *bhāgiṇeyya*, Sinh. *bāhānā*, *bānā*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pāli *gāma*, Uṛ., Bang. *gām*, Hindī *gāṁv*, Sindhī *gāmu*, *gā(ṁ)u*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gāṁv*, Sinh. *gāmi*, Gyp. *gar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kahrkāsa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargās*, New Pers. *kargas*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afγ. *yūn*.

Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpās*, *rōbās*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Sarq. *rapč*, Kāš. *rūvās*, Tāl. *rvūs*, N. Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *ābhā* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *āftāb* 'sun,' Šiγ., Sarq. *aftav*, Kurd. *ātaf*, So *axtāv*, *ataf*, *adav*, Bohtan *tāv*. Av. *spāda* 'army,' Phl. *spāh*, New Pers. *sipāh*, Dig. Oss. *afsād*, Tag. *afsad*. Phl., New Pers. *ārd* 'meal,' Casp. dialects *ōr*, Nāy. *ar*, Afγ. *ōra*.

$\bar{a} > \check{i}$.

§ 17. The change of \bar{a} to \check{i} occurs very rarely.

b. Iranian. Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see preceding §). Phl., New Pers. *darmān* 'medicine,' Šiγ., Sarq. *darmīn*. Old Pers. *amānaya* 'remained,' Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *māndan*, Kurd. *mīnim* 'I remain.'

$\bar{a} > \check{u}$.

§ 18. The change of \bar{a} to \check{u} is excessively rare in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the New Persian and its dialects as well as in numerous sporadic instances in the other Iranian dialects \bar{a} is changed to \check{u} before *m* and *n*, as \bar{e} is changed to \check{i} under the same circumstances (see § 89).

a. Indian. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Ur. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpūs*, Hindī *kapās*, Panj. *kapah*, Sindhī *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*. Simh. *kapu*. Skt. *sāsnā* 'paunch,' Prāk. *suṇhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zānu* 'knee,' Phl. *zānūk*, New Pers. *zānū*, Wāxī *zān*, Sarq. *zūn*, Sangl. *zong*, Judaeo-Pers. *zūnī*, *zānī*, Afγ. *zangum*, Bal. *zān*, Kurd. *zāna*. Av. *rāna* 'thigh,' Phl., New Pers. *rān*, Šiγ. *rūn*, Afγ. *vrūn*. Phl. *yāmak*, *jāmak* 'robe,' New Pers. *jāmah*, Nāy. *yūmu*, Kurd. *yūma*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl., New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, Šiγ. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safur*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yidg. *cīr*, Afγ. *čālōr*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *tərəsaiti* 'fears,' Old Pers. *tarsatiy*, Phl. *tarsītanō*, New Pers. *tarsān* 'cowardly,' Bal. *trusag*, N. Bal. *tursaγ*, Kurd. *tarsunak*, Oss. *tharsun*.

$\bar{a} > \check{e}$.

§ 19. The change of \bar{a} to \check{e} is one of excessive rarity both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. In Assamese and colloquial Bangālī the change of \bar{a} to \check{e} is not infrequent.

Skt. *mātra* 'measure,' Prāk. *metta*, Pāli *matta*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Mar. *ṭhēvaṇēṇ*. Skt. *āśā* 'hope,' Mahār. Prāk. *āsā*, Ass. *ēsā*, *āsā*. Skt. *rātrī* 'night,' Prāk. *ratti*, *rāi*, Pāli *ratti*, Ur., Bang., Bihār. *rāt(i)*, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhī *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Simh. *rā*, *rāya*. Skt., Pāli *ālōka* 'appearance,' Simh. *eliya*, *alu*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *tēv* 'strength,' beside *tāv*. Phl. *vācār* 'market-place,' New Pers. *bāzār*, Gab. *viḡār*, Kāš. *bōzōr*, *vōjōr*, Kurd. *bāzēr*, Eng. loan-word *bazaar*.

$\bar{a} > \check{o}$.

§ 20. The change of \bar{a} to \check{o} seems not to be found in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is not infrequent. The change is especially frequent in Māzandarānī and Tālīsh, and in Afyān \bar{a} regularly becomes \check{o} , excepting before nasals, where the change is to \bar{u} (cf. § 18 above). It is also to be noted that in New Persian itself the pronunciation of \bar{a} often tends to approach the value of \check{o} .

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vād*, Sīv. *vai*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt *vār*, Afy. *vo*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, Kurd. *bā*, *vai*, Tag. Oss. *vād*. New Pers. (dialectic) *māng* 'moon,' Gab. *mām*, Māz. *mūng*, Gil. *mām*, Tāl. *mōng*, Tāt *mang*, Kurd. *māng*. Av. *āp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Pāz. *āw*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Wāxī *yapak*, *yupk*, Minj. *yaoya*, Yidg. *yovγ*, Yayn. *ap*, Gab. *ō*, Sīv. *au*, *av*, Yazdī *vō*, Kāš. *āv*, Nāy. *āō*, Nat. *au*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō(u)*, Gil., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Afy. *ōba*, Bal. *āp*, N. Bal. *āf*, Kurd. *āv*. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxī

nung, Māz. *nūm*, Gīl. *nōm*, Afγ. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*.

Aphaeresis of ā.

§ 21. The aphaeresis of *ā* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *atarš* 'fire,' New Pers. *ataš*, *taš*, *atiš*, Šiγ. *yač*, Sarq. *yuč*, Gab. *taš*, Minj. *yūr*, etc. (see § 3). Av. *āyapta* 'reward,' Phl. (*ā*)*yāftan*, New Pers. *yāftan*, Dig. Oss. *yāfun*, Tag. *yāfin*.

Apocope of ā.

§ 22. The apocope of original *ā* is similar to the apocope of the corresponding short vowel (see § 13, a).

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *chāyā* 'shadow,' Hindī *chām(v)*, *chām̐h*, *chāōm*, Panj. *chām*, *chāūm*, Sindhī *chām(v)*, Guj. *chāmy*. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīmd*, Sindhī *nimr*, Guj. *nimdd*, Mar. *nīd*. Skt. *dūrvā* 'grass,' Pāli *dubbā*, Ur., Bang. *dūba*, Hindī *dūb*.

Anaptyxis of ā.

§ 23. The anaptyxis of *ā* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *maṭ-patīfrasa* 'with recompense,' Phl. *patīfrā*, Pāz. *pādafrāh*, New Pers. *pādāfraḥ*, *pādafrāh*.

$$i = i.$$

§ 24. Indo-Iranian *i* is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Skt. *iva* 'as,' Prāk. *via*, Pāli *iva*. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prāk., Pāli *viḷḷu*, Ur. *bijuli*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *bijali*, Sindhī *vīḷum*, Guj. *viḷulī*, Mar. *bijalī*, *vīj*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *pit(ar)*, New Pers. *pidar*, Kāš. *paī*, Šiγ., Sarq. *pid*. Av. *ciṭ* 'what,' Old Pers. *ciy*, Pāz., New Pers. *cih*, Afγ. *ca*, Kurd. *cī*, *ca*, *cē*, Dig. Oss. *ci*, *či*, Tag. *či*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *īt*.

i > *a*.

§ 25. The change of *i* to *a* is quite common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Indian the phenomenon occurs most frequently in Panjābī, Sindhī, and above all in Gujarātī. See now Pischel, *Gramm. der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 115.

a. Indian. Skt. *haridrā* 'turmeric,' Prāk. *haladdā*, *haladdī*, Pāli *haliddā*, also Kaśm. *līdir*, *līdar*, Uṛ. *haldī*, Bang. *haludā*, Bihārī, Hindī *haldī*, Panj. *haldhī*, Guj. *halad*, Mar. *haladdā*. Skt. *iti* 'thus,' Prāk. *tti*, *ia*, Pāli *iti*. Skt. *śīthila* 'loose,' Prāk. *sadhila*, *siḍhila*, Pāli *sithila*, *saṭhila*, Ass. *ḍhil*, Nāip. *ḍhīlō*, Uṛ. *ḍhīla*, Bang. *ḍhīla*, *ḍhala*, Bihārī *ḍhīlā*, E. Hindī *ḍhal*, Hindī *ḍhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhīlō*, *ḍhīrō*, Sindhī *ḍharō*, *ḍhīrō*, *ḍhīlō*, Guj. *ḍhīlum*, Mar. *saḍhal*, *ḍhīlā*. Skt., Pāli *kathina* 'difficult,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *kathin*, Panj. *kaṭhan*, Sindhī *kaṭanu*, Guj. *kaṭhan*, Mar. *kaḍhīn*. Skt. *garbhīṇī* 'pregnant,' Prāk. *gabbhīṇī*, Pāli *gab-bhīṇī*, Bang. *gābhīṇa* (vulg. *gabna*), Hindī *gābhīn*, Panj. *garabhan*, Sindhī *gābhīnī*, Guj., Mar. *gābhan*. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Śāur. *divasa*, Pāli *divasa*, Mar. *divasa*, Old Sinh. *divasa*, Sinh. *ḍavasa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *zam*, Tāl. *zumistān*, Wāxī *zam*, Šīy. *zimj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afy. *zimai*, Kurd. *zavistān*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, Wāxī *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afy. *spaža*, Kurd. *sipi*, Oss. *sisth*. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. (*huzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Wāxī *zik*, Šīy. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afy. *žiba*, Bal. *zimān*, Kurd. *azmān*, *zumān*, Oss. *avzag*.

i > *ā*.

§ 26. The change of *i* to *ā* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pāli *ucchū*, Uṛ. *ākhu*, *ūkha*, *īkha*, Bang. *āku*, Hindī *īkh*, *ūk*, Guj., Mar. *ūs*, Sinh. *iṅgu*, *uk*.

i > *u*.

§ 27. The change of *i* to *u* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. The change of *i* to *u* is particularly frequent in unaccented syllables in Uṛiya and Bangālī.

Skt. *rājila* 'lizard,' Pāli *rājula*. Skt. *iṣu* 'arrow,' Jāina Prāk., Pāli *usu*. Skt., Pāli *bindu* 'drop,' Uṛ., Bang. *bindī*, Hindī, Panj. *būnd*, *bind*, Sindhī *būnd*, *būmrō*, *bīmṛī*, Guj. *būnd*, *vinḍu*, Mar. *bindī*, *būnd*, Sinh. *poda*. Skt. *gāirika* 'red chalk,' Uṛ. *gēru*, Hindī *gērū*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērū*. Skt. *tintidī* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēmtēli*, Nāip. *titri*, Uṛ. *tēmtulī*, *tēmtulī*, Bang. *tē(n)tul*. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Sinh. *iṃgu*, *uk*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. The change of *i* to *u* is especially common in the Digaurish dialect of the Ossetish.

New Pers. *mužah* 'eyelash,' beside *mižah*, Gab. *mujang*, Kāš. *maja*, *muja*, *maža*, Bal. *micāc*, N. Bal. *mišāš*, Kurd. *mižānk*, *mižī*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Tāl. *zumistān*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. (*h*)*uzvān*, *zurvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, etc. (see § 25).

i > *ī*.

§ 28. The lengthening of *i* to *ī* is due in the majority of cases to compensatory lengthening, as in the case of *ā* developed from *a* (see § 5). The phenomenon occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *simha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Gāthā *sīmha*, Kāśm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *śimgh*, *sīmh*, *siṃgh*, Panj. *siṃgh*, other New Indian dialects *simh*. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jīhā*, *jibbhā*, Pāli *jihvā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kāśm. *zēo*, Sindhī *jībh*, Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, other New Indian dialects *jībh*. Skt. *āupaśivi*, nom. prop., Pāli *upasīva*. Skt. *vimśati* 'twenty,' Prāk. *visai*, Pāli *visam*, *visati*, Kāśm. *vuh*, Bang. *bīśa*, Hindī *bīs*, Panj. *bīh*, Sindhī *vīh*, Guj., Mar. *vīs*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,'

Prāk. *bahiṇī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Ur. *bhāuṇī*, *bhaūṇī*, Bang. *bhaīn*, Hindi *bahin*, Panj. *bhāiṇ*, *bāimh*, Sindhī *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīṇ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *hueiθra* 'beautiful,' Phl. *hucīhr*, New Pers. *huzīr*, *hujīr*, *xujīr*. Av. *vieinōiθ* 'gathered,' Phl. *cītanō*, New Pers. *eīdan*, Bal. *einag*, N. Bal. *chinay*, Kurd. *cinin*. Skt. *kapiṇjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapīnjar*, N. Bal. *khavīnjar*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *ūt*. Old Pers. *cišciy* 'something,' New Pers. *eīz*, Kurd. *tišt*.

i > *ū*.

§ 29. The change of *i* to *ū* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Ur. *ākhu*, *īkha*, *ūkha*, Hindi *īkh*, *ūkh*, Guj., Mar. *ūs*, etc. (see § 26).

i > *ě*.

§ 30. The change of *i* to *e*, *ē* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, but it is exceedingly rare in the Iranian dialects, where a few cases of the compensatory lengthening of *i* to *ē* are found. In the Indian dialects the change appears most frequently before double consonants in Middle Indian (consequently the *e* in such cases is short). Of the New Indian dialects the Gujarātī presents the greatest number of examples of this change, which is, on the whole, more common in the West of India than in the East.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk. *ṇeddā*, *ṇiddā*. Skt. *kirāṭa* 'hypocrite,' Pāli *kēraṭika*, *kērāṭiya*. Skt. *dviḥhāga* 'two-fold,' Pāli *dvēbhāga*. Skt. *tintiḍī* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēmtēli*, Ur. *tēmtulī*, *tēmtulī*, Bang. *tē(m)tuḷ*, etc. (see § 27). Skt. *sindūra* 'vermilion,' Prāk. *sendūra*, Pāli *sindūra*, Ass. *sendur*, *sindur*, Bang. *sindur*, Bihārī *sēnur*, Hindī *sēmdūr*, Sindhī *sindhuru*, Guj. *sindūr*, Mar. *sēmdūr*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *eiγ* 'what,' Kurd. *cē*, *eī*, *ca*, etc. (see § 24). New Pers. *gišniz* 'coriander,' Bal. *gēnīe*.

Aphaeresis of i.

§ 31. Aphaeresis of original *i* is very rare in the Indian dialects. The Tagaurish dialect of the Ossetish presents several instances of the aphaeresis of *i* which has become initial after the loss of original initial consonants.

a. Indian. Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Prāk., Pāli *dāni(ṃ)*.

[b. Iranian. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vist*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*. Av. *hištaiti* 'stands,' Dig. Oss. *isthun*, Tag. *sthin*.]

Syncope of i.

§ 32. The syncope of *i* is excessively rare. Possibly the loss of a final *i* in a word which is made the first member of a compound may be considered here.

b. Iranian. Av. *zairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' New Pers. *zaryūn*, Afy. *zaryūn*.

Apocope of i.

§ 33. Apocope of *i* is common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dr̥ṣṭi* 'sight,' Prāk., Pāli *diṭṭhi*, Hindī *dīṭhi*, *dīṭh*, *ḍīṭh*, Panj. *ḍiṭṭh*, Sindhī *ḍīṭi*, Mar. *dīṭh*. Skt. *vyakti* 'person,' Hindī *bikat*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Afy. *lar*, Kurd. *žīr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*.

Prothesis of i.

§ 34. Prothetic *i* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is quite common, especially before initial consonant-groups whose first component is a sibilant.

a. Indian. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' Prāk., Pāli *itthī*, *thī*, Gāthā *istrī*, colloquial Hindī *istrī*, *astrī*, Sindhī *istrī*, Eḷu *itirī*, Siṃh. *istrī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sōbō*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid*, Yidg. *spī*, Afγ. *spīn*, *spēra*, Kurd. *ispī*, *spī*. Skt. *syāla* 'jackal,' Phl., New Pers. *šayāl*, Šiy., Sarq. *iškāl*, Afγ. *caγāl*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Afγ. *γaγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*, but Dig. *iγosun* 'to hear,' Tag. *qūsīn*. Skt. *aṅga* 'limb,' Dig. Oss. *ion*, Tag. *on*. [Hübschmann considers the *i* in these cases to be original in the Oss., but he thinks that the Tag. dialect has lost the *i*, rather than that the Dig. shows a prothetic *i*.]

$$\bar{i} = \bar{i}.$$

§ 35. Indo-Iranian \bar{i} is generally preserved without change both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Assamese no character for \bar{i} exists, *i* being written instead. The Old Hindi often writes *iy* for \bar{i} (Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Old Hindi *jīyava*). The New Persian, as is well known, has confused in many words the *majhūl* ('unknown [to the Arabs]' = Persian sounds) vowels \bar{e} , \bar{o} with the *maʾrūf* ('known [to the Arabs]' = Arabic sounds) vowels \bar{i} , \bar{u} . The Judaeo-Persian and the Balūcī, like the Indian pronunciation of New Persian, maintain clearly the original distinction between the *majhūl* and the *maʾrūf* vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīvita* 'life,' Prāk. *jīvia*, Pāli *jīvita*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *dīha(r)*, *diggha*, Pāli *dīgha*, Sindhī *ḍrighō*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *šīr*, Šīr., Šiy. *šīrin*, Minj. *xšīr*, Kurd. *šīr*, Oss. *axšīr*. Av. *vīra* 'understanding,' Phl. *vīr(āk)*, New Pers. *vīr*, Gab. *vīr*, Bal. *gīr*, Kurd. *bīr*.

$$\bar{i} > a.$$

§ 36. The change of \bar{i} to *a* is an excessively rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhīṣma* 'terrible,' Pāli *bhasma*, *bhisma*. Skt. *parīkṣā* 'test,' Bang. *parakha*, *parakhāi*, Hindī *parakhānā*, *parakhāiyā*, Panj. *parakhavun*, *parakhanār*, Sindhī *pārakhia*, *parkhaṇu*, Mar. *parakhaṇēm*, *pārakhī*.

$\bar{i} > i$.

§ 37. The shortening of \bar{i} is naturally the most common change to which \bar{i} is subject. It occurs, however, with comparative infrequency in the Iranian dialects. For the principal conditions under which the change occurs see above under § 25.

a. Indian. Skt. *tikṣṇa* 'sharp,' Prāk. *tiṇha*, *tikkha*, Pāli *tiṇha*, *tikkha*, *tikhiṇa*, New Indian dialects *tikh*, except Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *tikh*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pāli *issara*, Hindī, Panj. *īsar*. Skt. *alīka* 'false,' Prāk. *alia*, Pāli *alika*. Skt. *dvitīya* 'second,' Prāk. *duia*, Ur. *duśra*, Old Hindī *dūjā*, Hindī *dūsarā*, Panj. *dū(j)ā*, Sindhī *bījō*, *bīō*, Guj. *bījō*, Mar. *dusarā*. Skt. *ga(m)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(m)bhīra*, Ur. *gahira*, Hindī *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhī *gāhirā*. Skt. *kīla* 'pin,' Pāli *k(h)īla*, Ur. *kilā*, Hindī *killā*, Panj. *kill*, Sindhī *kilī*, Mar. *killā*. Skt. *kīṭa* 'worm,' Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kīḍā*, Sindhī *kīḍō*, Guj. *kīḍō*, Mar. *kīḍā*, *kīḍ*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sīsī*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śī(m)s*, Sinh. *iha*, *isa*, *his*, *sis*. Skt. *kīrti* 'fame,' Prāk., Pāli *kittī* Sinh. *kit*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *jīvāhy* 'thou shalt live,' Phl. *zīvandak* 'living,' New Pers. *zīndak*. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Šīr., Šiy. *šīrin*, Oss. *axšir*, etc. (see § 35). Skt. *bīja* 'seed,' Bal. *bij*. New Pers. *kōhī* 'mountainous,' Kurd. *kōvi*.

$\bar{i} > u$.

§ 38. The change of \bar{i} to *u* is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīra* 'cummin-seed,' Sinh. *duru*. Skt. *pravāsin* 'sojourner,' Prāk. *pavāsū*.

b. Iranian. Av. *mīžda* 'reward,' Phl. *muzd*, Pāz. *mozd*, New Pers. *muzd*, *mužd*, Kurd., Oss. *mizd*.

$\bar{i} > \bar{a}$.

§ 39. The change of \bar{i} to \bar{a} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiraścīna* 'going sideways,' Pāli *tiracchāna* 'animal.'

$\bar{i} > \check{e}$.

§ 40. The change from \bar{i} to \check{e} is not very common in the Middle Indian dialects, while in the New Indian and in the Iranian dialects it is still more rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kīdrśa* 'what kind?' Prāk. *kērisa*, Apab. Prāk. *kēlu*, Sindhī *kēharō*, *kēru*. Skt. *nīḍa* 'nest,' Prāk. *neḍḍa*, *nīḍa*, Pāli *niḍḍha*, *nīla*. Skt. *grhītvā* 'having taken,' Pāli *gahetvā*. Skt. *krīḍa* 'sport,' Pāli *khēla*, Hindī *khelnā*, Gyp. \sqrt{khel} 'to dance.' Skt. *bhīma* 'fearful,' Sinh. *bem*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *pīr* 'old,' New Pers. *pīr*, Judaeo-Pers. *pēr*, Bal. *pīrūk*, N. Bal. *phīrūk*.

$\bar{i} > \check{o}$.

§ 41. The change of \bar{i} to \check{o} is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tīrtha* 'landing-place,' Prāk. *tittha*, *tūha*, Pāli *tittha*, Sindhī *tīrthu*, Sinh. *toṭa*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *zīnjīr* 'chain,' Wāxī *zanzīr*, Šīy. *zīnzīr*, Sarq. *zanzair*, Bal. *zamzīl*, Kurd. *zanjōr*, *zanjīr*.

Apocope of \bar{i} .

§ 42. The apocope of final \bar{i} occurs in several New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garbhīṇī* 'pregnant,' Hindī *gābhīn*, Panj. *garabhaṇ*, Guj., Mar. *gābhaṇ*, etc. (see § 25).

$u = u$.

§ 43. Indo-Iranian u is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *chupati* 'touches,' Prāk. *chupaī*, Pāli *chupati*, Ur., Bang. *chum*, Old Hindī *chuh*, Hindī *chū*, Panj. *chūh*, Sindhī *chuh*, Guj. *chū*, *chō*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk. *purisa*, *paūrisa*, Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Sindhī *purusu*, Gyp. *poša*, cf. also Sinh. *pirimiyā*, Maladive *firimīha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl., New Pers. *xušk*, Kāš. *ušk*, Wāxī *vask*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušay*, Oss. *xus(k)*. Av. *duyḍar* 'daughter,' Phl. *duxt*, New Pers. *duxt(ar)*, Wāxī *dagd*, Sangl. *day*, Minj. *loyda*, Yidg. *luydoh*, Afy. *lūr*, Kurd. *duxt*, *ditt*. Skt. *mudrā* 'seal,' Phl. *mutrāk*, *mudar*, *muhr*, New Pers., Kurd. *muhr*, Oss. *mixur*.

$u > a$.

§ 44. The change of *u* to *a* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punar* 'again,' Prāk. *puṇu*, *pana* (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions), Pāli *pana*. Skt. *sphurati* 'flashes,' Pāli *pharati*. Skt. *suruṅga* 'mine,' Pāli *suruṅga*, Ur. *suḍamga*, Bihārī, Hindī *suramṅ*, Sindhī *siriṅgh*, Mar. *suramṅ*. Skt. *karbura* 'variegated,' Hindī *kabarā*, *kābar*, Panj. *kabrā*, Sindhī *kuḃirō*, Guj. *kābar*, Mar. *kabarā*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dūbar*, Hindī *dublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhī *ḍuḃirō*, *ḍabalō*, Guj. *dubal(ā)*, Mar. *dubal*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuvan* 'youth,' Phl. *yuvān*, New Pers. *javān*, *vān*, Māz. *javān*, Afy., Bal. *javān*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Afy. *max*. Av. *uštra* 'camel,' Phl. *uštr*, New Pers. *uštūr*, Wāxī *ūštūr*, Šiy. *štūr*, Bal. *huštar*, Kurd. *haštir*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl., New Pers. *dum(b)*, Sarq. *ḍüm(bā)*, Afy. *lam*, Bal. *ḍīm*, Kurd. *dūv*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *dimag*.

$u > i$.

§ 45. The change of *u* to *i* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk. *purisa*, *paūrisa*, Pāli

purisa, cf. also Sinh. *pirimiyā*, Maladive *firimītha*, etc. (see § 43). Skt. *kuṭumba* 'family,' Pāli *kuṭimba*. Skt. *undura*, *undara* 'rat,' Pāli *undura*, E. New Ind. dialects *indūr*, Mar. *undir*. Skt. *vālukā* 'sand,' Pāli *vālukā*, Ass., Ur., Bang. *bāli*, Hindi *bālū*, Sindhi *vārī*, Guj. *bālu*, Mar. *vāluyā*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Prāk. *thui*, Pāli *thuti*, Sinh. *tiyu*, *tivu*, *tuti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθra*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Wāxī *pōtr*, Šiy. *puč*, Sarq. *pöč*, Kurd. *pisir*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*. Av. *tusən* 'they evacuated,' Phl. *tuhik* 'empty,' New Pers. *tihī*, Gab. *tohī*, Judaeo-Pers. *tuha*, Bal. *tusag*, N. Bal. *thusay*. Av. *buna* 'foundation,' Phl., New Pers. *bun*, Wāxī *bön*, Šiy. *bon*, Sarq. *bun*, Bal. *bunā*, Kurd. *bin*, *bun*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Dig. Oss. *stud*, Tag. *stid*.

$u > \bar{a}$.

§ 46. The change of *u* to \bar{a} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhānumatī* 'jugglery,' Mar. *bhānāmatī*.

$u > \bar{i}$.

§ 47. The change of *u* to \bar{i} is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra-*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šir. *sīrah*, Siv. *sīr*, Yazdī *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Wāxī *sökr*, Šiy. *sīrah*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, Kurd. *sör*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Bal. *dīm*, etc. (see § 44).

$u > \bar{u}$.

§ 48. The lengthening of *u* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is due in the majority of cases to compensation (cf. also §§ 5, 28).

a. Indian. Skt. *utsava* 'feast,' Prāk. *ūsava*, Pāli *ussava*. Skt. *kula* 'family,' Prāk., Pāli *kula*, Ur. *kula*, Sindhi *kuru*, *kulu*, Guj. *kuḷ*, Mar. *kūḷ*, *kuḷ*. Skt. *muṣala* 'pestle,' Prāk. *mūsala*, Pāli *musala*, Bang. *mūṣal*, Hindi *mūsal*. Skt. *pura* 'town,' Prāk., Pāli *pura*, Bihār. *pūr*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *sa-*

mudda, Pāli *samudda*, *muhudda*, Siṃh. *muhuda*, *mūda*. Skt. *muṣṭi* 'fist,' Prāk., Pāli *muṭṭhi*, Bang. *muṭhā*, *muṭhi*, Hindī *mūṭh*, *muṭhā*, Sindhī *muthi*, *mūṭh*, Guj. *muṭṭhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *parətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, New Pers. *puhl*, *pūl*, Gīl. *purd*, Kurd. *par*, *pīr(d)*, *purd*. Av. *puθra* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *suxra* 'red,' Afy. *sūr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kurd. *turb* 'turnip,' Mukrī *tūr*.

$u > \check{e}$.

§ 49. The change of *u* to \check{e} is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *p(h)upphusa* 'lung,' Prāk. *phupphusa*, Pāli *phapphāsa*, Ur. *phaṃsaphaṃsa*, *phāṃphāṃi*, Bang. *phēmparā*, *phōmpasā*, Hindī *phēpharā*, *phēpharā*, Sindhī *phiphīru*, Mar. *phōpīs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šud*, Wāxī *cauam*, Šīy. *začcam*, Sarq. *zavsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šut(a)*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuṭa*, Kurd. *čian*, Zaza *šē*, Oss. *čaun*.

$u > \check{o}$.

§ 50. The change of *u* to \check{o} is very rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects the confusion between the *majhūl* and the *maʾrūf* vowels must be borne in mind. Somewhat akin to the change of *u* to \check{o} is the change of *u* to $\check{ö}$ in Wāxī and to \ddot{u} in Sariqolī, while the other New Persian dialects usually retain original *u* unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *muktā* 'pearl,' Prāk. *mottā*, Pāli *muttā*, Ur. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *mati*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Guj., Mar. *mōti*. Skt. *ulūkhala* 'mortar,' Prāk. *ōhala*, *okkhala*, *u(l)ūhala*, Ur. *ukhalī*, Mar. *ukhal*. Skt. *ulkā* 'torch,' Prāk. *ukkā*, Pāli *okkā*. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ass. *kuṭh*, Nāip. *kōr*, Ur. *kōḍha*, Bang. *kōṭh*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Guj. *kōḍh* (cf. Skt. *kuṣṭhin* 'leper,' Hindī *kōṛī*), Mar. *kōḍ*. Skt., Pāli *kuddāla* 'hoe,' Ur. *kōrā*, Bang. *kōḍāl*, Sindhī *kōrarī*, Guj. *kōḍārō*, Siṃh. *udalu*, *udālla*. Skt. *pustaka*

'book,' Prāk. *potthaa*, Pāli *potthaka*, New Ind. dialects *pōthā*, *pōthī*, Sinh. *pota*.

b. Iranian. Av. *uši* 'understanding,' Phl. (*h*)ōš, New Pers. *hōš*, *hūš*. Av. *uśah* 'dawn,' Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *puōra* 'son,' Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Wāxī *pōtr*, Sarq. *pōč*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *suxra* 'red,' Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Wāxī *sōkr*, etc. (see § 47). Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juy*, Kuhr. *yū*, Šiy. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūy*, Kurd. *jūk*.

Aphaeresis of u.

§ 51. The loss of initial *u* is not uncommon in the New Indian dialects, although it occurs but rarely in the Middle Indian. In the Iranian dialects aphaeresis of *u* seems to have been preceded in the Middle Iranian by a change of *u* to *a* (Old Pers. *upariy* 'above,' Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (*a*)*bar*. Skt. *upasthāna* 'assistance,' Phl. *apastān*).

a. Indian. Skt. *udaka*, *daka* 'water,' Jaina Prāk. *daga*, Pāli *daka*, *ōka*, Sinh. *daga*, *daya*, *diya*. Skt. *upaviśati* 'sits down,' Pāli *upavisati*, Ass. *bahē*, Nāip. *basē*, Kāsm. ✓ *bih*, Uṛ., Bang. *basē*, E. Hindī, Hindī *baīsē*, Sindhī *bihē*, Mar. *baisē*, *vasē*. Skt., Pāli *udumbara* 'fig-tree,' Uṛ. *ḍumurī*, Bang. *ḍumur*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *uajjhāa*, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādhā*, Hindī *ōjhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* 'above,' Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (*a*)*bar*, Wāxī, Sarq. *var*, Afy. *prē*, Bal. *par*, *gvar*, N. Bal. *phar*, Kurd. *bar*, Dig. Oss. *vol*, Tag. *ol*. Av. *uštra* 'camel,' Phl. *uštr*, New Pers. *ustur*, *šutur*, Wāxī *uštūr*, Šiy. *štur*, Bal. *huštar*, *uštir*.

Syncope of u.

§ 52. Syncope of *u* is comparatively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *dhū(d)ā*, *dhī(d)ā*, Pāli *dhītā*, Uṛ. *jhia*, Bang. *jhī*, Hindī, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhī *dhiu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dhī(yā)*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daiṇhu-paiti* 'lord of the land,' New Pers.

dihxān 'village-chief' (cf. Armenian loan-word *dehpet* from Av. *daiśhu-paiti*).

Apocope of u.

§ 53. The loss of final *u* occurs very frequently in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *taru* 'tree,' Bihārī *tar(u)*. Skt. *bāhu* 'arm,' Apab. *bāhā*, Pāli *bāhu*, U_r., Bang. *bāha*, Hindī, Panj. *bānh*, Sindhī *bānh*, Guj. *bānhī*, Mar. *bānhī*, *bāhī*, *bāhu*.

Prothesis of u.

§ 54. The prothesis of *u* is very frequent in the Iranian dialects before initial consonant-groups. The phenomenon is not found in the Indian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *stūna* 'column,' Phl. *stūn*, New Pers. *sutūn*, *ustūn*, Afγ. *stan*, Kurd. (i) *stūn*. Skt. *sthūra* 'firm,' New Pers. *siturg*, *suturg*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afγ. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Oss. *sthur*, Tag. *sthir*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Sangl. *usturak*, etc. (see § 14). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, etc. (see § 25).

Epenthesis of u.

§ 55. The epenthesis of *u* is very rare. The Kaśmīrī shows many cases of an inserted *u* after *i* in *u*-stems.

a. Indian. Skt. *nīla* 'blue,' Kaśm. *nyula*. Skt. *dr̥ṣṭha* 'seen,' Kaśm. *dyuṭhu*.

$$\bar{u} = \bar{u}.$$

§ 56. Indo-Iranian \bar{u} is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhūmi*, *bhummi*, U_r. *bhūna*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī, Panj. *bhūm*, *bhūm̐*, *bhūm̐*, Sindhī *bhū(in)*, Guj. *bhū(y)*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Sinh. *bima*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būmi* 'earth,' Phl., New Pers. *bām*. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Phl., New Pers. *dūr*, Gab. *dīr*, Māz. *dīr*, Gīl. *dūr*, Wāxī *δīr*, Šiγ., Sarq. *δar*, Yidg. *lūro*, Afγ. *līri*, Kurd. *dūr*.

$\bar{u} > a$.

§ 57. The change of \bar{u} to a is not frequent either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Afyān, when \bar{u} often becomes a before nasals or r .

a. Indian. Skt. *dukūla* 'silken robe,' Prāk. *dualla*, *duūla*, Jāina Prāk. *dugulla*, Pāli *dukūla*. Skt. *bhrūmukha* 'eyebrow,' Jāina Prāk. *bhamuka*, Pāli *bhamuka* (cf. also Pāli *bhamu* 'eyebrow'), Gyp. *phov*. [See now Pischel, *Gr. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, §§ 206, 261.]

b. Iranian. Skt. *sthūra* 'large,' New Pers. *siturg*, *suturg*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afy. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Oss. *sthur*, Tag. *sthir*. Skt. *nūnam* 'now,' Av. *nūrəm*, Phl., New Pers. *nūn*, Šiy. *nur*, Sarq. *nūr*, Afy. *nan*, Bal. *nūn*.

$\bar{u} > i$.

§ 58. The change of \bar{u} to i is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Uṛ. *mūla*, Guj., Mar. *mōl*, Siṃh. *mīla*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *sujja*, *sūria*, Pāli *suriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*, Siṃh. (*h*)*iru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *mūṣ* 'mouse,' New Pers. *mūš*, Gab. *mušk*, Samn. *mūš*, Afy. *mayā(k)*, Bal. *mušk*, N. Bal. *mūšk*, Kurd. *miš(i)k*, Dig. Oss. *mista*, Tag. *mist*.

$\bar{u} > u$.

§ 59. The shortening of \bar{u} to u is the most frequent change to which u is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. It occurs especially before double consonants or consonant-groups (cf. §§ 16, 37). In Assamese \bar{u} is always written u .

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Prāk. *mulla*, *molla*, Kaśm. *mōl* (but *mūlāi* 'radically'), Uṛ. *mūla*, Bang., Hindī *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhī *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*. Skt. *tūrya* 'musical instrument,' Prāk. *tūra*, Jāina Prāk. *tuḍiya*, Pāli *turiya*, Uṛ. *turī*, Bang. *turum*, Hindī *tūrī*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *turam*, Sindhī, Guj. *turī*. Skt.

śālūka 'root of the water-lily,' Pāli *sālūka*. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'dust,' Prāk., Pāli *cunṇa*, Kaśm. *cūn*, Uṛ. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindī *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhī *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, also Uṛ., Bang. *cunā*, Hindī *cūnā*, Panj. *cūnā*, *cūnī*, Sindhī *cunu*, Guj. *cunō*, Mar. *cunā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kaśm. *khuh*, Uṛ., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kū(ṇ)ām*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kūrō*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Prāk., Pāli *dhūma*, Ass. *dhōmā*, Nāip. *dhuām*, Kaśm. *duh*, Uṛ. *dhūmā*, Bang. *dhuyām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *dhū(ṇ)ām*, Sindhī *dhūmhām*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Simh. *dum*, Gyp. *thuv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būza* 'goat,' Phl. *būj*, New Pers. *buz*, *buḡ*, Wāxī *buc*, *büc*, Šiy., Sarq. *vaz*, Sangl. *vuz*, Minj. *vuza*. Av. *gūda* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, Kāš. *gūs*, Wāxī *gū*, *gī*, Šiy. *yaθ*, Yaḡn. *γūt(ah)*, Afγ. *γul*, N. Bal. *gīθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Skt. *nūnam* 'now,' Av. *nūrəm*, Šiy. *nur*, Sarq. *nūr*, etc. (see § 57). Av. *kū* 'where,' Pāz. *ku*, New Pers. *kujā*, Minj. *ko*, Afγ. *kūm*, Bal. *kū*, N. Bal. *khū*, Kurd. *ku*, Oss. *khu(d)*.

[Final *ū* is often shortened to *u* in the New Indian dialects. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahū*, Pāli *vadhū*, Uṛ. *bahu*, Bang. *baū*, Hindī *bahū*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhī *vahū*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū* (yet in most of these dialects the word is actually pronounced *boh(ū)*).]

ū > *ā*.

§ 60. The change of *ū* to *ā* is an excessively rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *masūraka* 'pillow,' Pāli *masāraka*.

ū > *ī*.

§ 61. The change of *ū* to *ī* is very rare in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is not uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *bahurūpa* ' juggler,' Mar. *bhōrapī*, *b(h)ōrīp*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Gab. *dir*, Māz. *dir*, Wāxī *dir*, Afγ. *liri*, *liri*, etc. (see § 56). Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Phl. *dūt*, New Pers. *dūd*, Wāxī *dit*, Šiy. *δud*, Sarq. *δūt*, Afγ. *lū*, Bal. *dūt*, *dīt*, N. Bal. *dīθ*, Kurd. *dū*. New Pers. *būdand* 'they were,' Tāt *birūd*. Kurd. *barīk* 'pocket' beside *barāk*.

$\bar{u} > \check{e}$.

§ 62. The change of \bar{u} to \check{e} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ṇūra*, *nūra*, *niura*, Pāli *nūpura*, Uṛ. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhī *nūrō*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*. Skt. *pūrva* 'former,' Prāk. *puvra*, Śāur. Prāk. *purava*, New Ind. dialects *pūrba*, except Hindī *pūrab*, Sindhī *pūrbu*, Simh. *pera*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Kāš., Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sīč*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sīcin*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šišan*, *štšin*, *šēšin*, Kurd. *sūzin*.

$\bar{u} > \check{o}$.

§ 63. This change, like the one preceding, is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrja* 'strength,' Pāli *ōja*. Skt. *tāmbūla* 'betel,' Prāk. *tambōla*, Pāli *tambūla*, Uṛ. *tambōla*, Guj. *tāmbūl*, Mar. *tāmbūl*, cf. also Bang. *tāmbulī* 'betel-seller,' Hindī *tāmbōlī*, Panj. *tāmbōlī*, Guj. *tāmbōlī*, Mar. *tāmbōlī*.

$\bar{u} > yah$.

§ 64. The interchange of \bar{u} and *yah* occurs only finally. It is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *zālū* 'leech,' Šiy., Sarq. *zālyah*, Afy. *žavara*, Bal. *zarāy*, Kurd. *zalū(g)*, *zulūl*, *zūrī*.

$\bar{u} > va$.

§ 65. The change of \bar{u} to *va* seems to occur only initially. It is extremely uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūnavimśati* 'nineteen,' Prāk. *ūnavīsaī*, Kāśm. *kunavūh*, Uṛ. *unāīśa*, Bang. *ūnīś*, Bihārī *ōnāīs*, *vanaīs*, Hindī *unīs*, Panj. *unnūh*.

$\text{ṛ} = \text{ṛ}$.

§ 66. Indo-Iranian ṛ , which is represented by ṛ in Old Indian, by *orə* in Avestan, and by *ar* in Old Persian, has been changed in

the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects to *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ō*, or into *r* (sometimes *l*) preceded or followed by *a*, *i*, *u*. The quality of the vowel in the various developments here considered is generally determined by the character of the consonants which stand near the original *r*. Thus the usual change of *r* is to *a(r)*, *ra*, but labials often colour the vowel to *u(r)*, and sibilants colour it to *i(r)*.

In the Indian Gāthā dialect *r* is regularly retained unchanged, and in Apabhraṃśa Prākṛit *r* often remains.

a. Indian. Skt. *sukṛta* 'well done,' Apab. Prāk. *sukṛdu*, *suki(d)u*. Skt. *trṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *trṇu*, *taṇu*, *tiṇu*, Bang. *tinakā*, *tilakā*, Hindī *tinakā*, Panj. *tiṇ*, Sindhī *tīl*, Mar. *tan*, Sinh. *taṇa*.

r > *ar*.

§ 67. The change of *r* to *ar* is quite rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is quite frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house' (also *gēha*), Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kāśm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindī *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kycl*.

b. Iranian. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *barnā*, *burnā*. Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' Phl. *karm*, New Pers. *kirm*, Sarq. *carm*, Kurd. *karm*, *kurum*, Dig. Oss. *khalmitha*, Tag. *khalm*. Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiy. *yurš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaž*, Kurd. *vir*, *hirš*, *hirc*, Zaza *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *zərədaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Māz. *zilah*, Gil. *zīl*, Šiy. *zrād*, *zrāy*, Sarq. *zārd*, Sangl. *uzrāy*, Minj. *zīl*, Afy. *zra*, Bal. *zirdē*, Kurd. *zar*, Oss. *zarda*. Av. *sarata* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxī *sūr(ī)*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Oss. *sald*.

r > *a*.

§ 68. The change of *r* to *a* is very common in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuddha*, Pāli *vaddha*, *viddha*, *buddha*, *vuddha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kaśm. *bor*, *bod*, U_r, Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindī *barā*, *barā*, *baddā*, Hindī *baḍā*, Panj. *vaḍḍā*, W. Panj. *baḍḍā*, Sindhī *vaḍō*, Guj. *vaḍō*, Gyp. *baro*, but Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'old,' U_r. *bārḥā*, *būḍī*, Bang. *budā*, Hindī *buddhā*, *būḍhā*, Panj. *budhā*, Sindhī *ḅudhō*, *ḅudhō*, Guj. *burhō*. Skt. *vr̥ṣabha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasaha*, Śāur. Prāk. *rusaha*, Pāli *vasabha*. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house,' Pāli *gaha*, *ghara*, *gēha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mṛttikā* 'earth,' Prāk. *maṭṭiā*, Pāli *mattikā*, Nāip. *māntō*, Kaśm. *mič*, U_r, Bang. *māṭī*, Hindī, Panj. *maṭṭī*, *mittī*, *māṭī*, Sindhī *miṭī*, Guj. *maṭṭī*, *mittī*, *māṭī*, Mar. *māṭī*. Skt. *mṛta* 'dead,' Prāk. *maa*, *mua*, Māg. Prāk. *maḍē*, U_r. *malā*, Hindī *muā*, Panj. *muia*, Sindhī *muō*, Guj. *murum*, Mar. *mēlēm*, Sinh. *mala*, Gyp. *mulo*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pr̥daku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pilang*, *palang*, Afy. *prāng*.

r > *ra*.

§ 69. The change of *r* to *ra* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥kṣa* 'tree,' Prāk. *vracha* (inscriptions of Girnar), *rukkha*, *riccha*, *rikkha*, Pāli *rukkha*, U_r. *rūkha*, Hindī *brich*, Mar. *rūkh*, Sinh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*. [According to Pischel § 320 Prāk. *rukkha* (and its New Ind. derivatives) is derived from Skt. *rukṣa*, not *vr̥kṣa*.]

r > *ir*.

§ 70. This change, like the one discussed in the preceding section, occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛtvij* 'brahmanical priest,' Pāli *iritvija*. Skt. *vr̥ṣa* 'Taurus' (in the Zodiac), Pāli *vusa*, Sindhī *virku*.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəma* 'worm,' New Pers. *kirm*, etc. (see § 67).

r > *i*.

§ 71. The change of *r* to *i* occurs with great frequency both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions), *kita*, Māg. Prāk. *kadē*, Māhār. Prāk. *kaya*, Pāiś. Prāk. *kata*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śak. Prāk. *kala*, Apab. Prāk. *kidu*, Pāli *kata*, *kaṭa*, Bihārī *kail*, *kāil*, *kayal*, Old Hindī *kūya*, Sindhī *kiō*. Skt. *kṛpaṇa* 'wretched,' Apab. Prāk. *kivaṇu*. Skt. *mṛga* 'deer,' Pāli *miga*, *maga* (cf. Skt. *mṛdaṇka* 'having a deer-sign, moon,' Prāk. *miamka*). Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prāk. *isi*, *risi*, Pāli *isi*, Sinh. *rusi*, Gyp. *raśāy*. Skt. *grdhra* 'vulture,' Śaur. Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *giddha*, *gijjha*, *gadlha*, Bang. *gidh*, Bihārī *gīdh*, *gidhvā*, Hindī *giddh*, *gīdh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhī *gijh*, Guj., Mar. *gidharh*, *gīd(h)*. Skt. *ghṛta* 'melted butter,' Prāk. *ghaya*, Pāli *ghata*, Ur. *ghia*, Bang. *ghi*, Hindī, Panj. *ghī*, *ghiu*, Sindhī *gihu*, Guj., Mar. *ghī*, Gyp. *khil*, Anglo-Ind. *ghee*. Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prāk. *siṅga*, *saṅga*, Pāli *siṅga*, Ur. *siṅgā*, Bang. *siṅg*, Hindī *sīng*, Panj. *siṅg*, Sindhī *siṇu*, Guj., Mar. *siṅg*, Gyp. *siṅg*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāiś. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiāum*, Sindhī *himāmu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (y)ilo. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Prāk. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Jaina Prāk., Pāli *piṭṭhi*, Ur. *pītha*, *pīthi*, Bang., Hindī *pīth*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Sindhī *puṭhī*, Guj. *pīth*, *puṭh*, Mar. *pāth*, *puṭhā*, Sinh. *piṭa*, Gyp. *pūsto*. Skt. *trṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prāk. *taṇhā*, Pāli *taṇhā*, *tiṇhā*, *tasiṇā*, Hindī *tirakkhā*, *tinakhā*, Panj. *tihā*, Sindhī *īih*, *īihāi*, Mar. *tahān*.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Wāxī *tax(i)*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tür(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afγ. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tī*. Av. *zərδaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Bal. *zirdē*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Kurd. *virē*, *hirš*, *hire*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *gərəpta* 'seized,' New Pers. *giriftah*, Māz. *gītah*, Kāš. *giāft*, Bal. *gipta*.

r > *ri*.

§ 72. The change of *r* to *ri* occurs only initially, and only in semitatsamas or tatsamas in the New Indian dialects. The phenomenon is not infrequent in Hindī and Panjābī; Sindhī and

Gujarātī show fewer examples of it, and it is very uncommon in Uṛiya, Bangālī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛddhā* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *riddhi*, *iddhi*, Pāli *iddhi*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *rikkha*, *riccha*, Pāli *ikka*, *accha*, *is(s)a*, Uṛ. (rare) *richa*, Bihārī *riḥ*, *rikkh*, Hindī *riḥ*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhī *richu*, Guj. *riḥ*, Mar. *rīs*. Skt. *gṛhastha* 'householder,' Hindī *grihastha*, Panj. *g(a)risatī*, Sindhī *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha*.

ṛ > ur.

§ 73. The change of *ṛ* to *ur* is frequent only in Pahlavī and New Persian. Elsewhere it is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bərəza* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *burz*, Kurd. *barz*, Oss. *barzond*. Av. *pərəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *pur*. Av. *pərəsahi* 'thou askest,' Old Pers. *patiparsāhy*, Phl. *pursī-tanō*, New Pers. *pursīdan*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pörsam*, Afy. *pušt*, Kurd. *pirsin*, Dig. Oss. *farsun*, Tag. *farsin*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, New Pers. *mury*, Māz. *mary*, Afy. *marya*, Kurd. *mrišk*, Oss. *mary*.

ṛ > u.

§ 74. The change of *ṛ* to *u* is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. As has been noted in § 66, *ṛ* becomes *u* especially in the vicinity of labials.

a. Indian. Skt. *pr̥thivī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavī*, *puhuvī*, *puhavī*, Pāli *pathavī*, *paṭhavī*, *puthuvī*, *puthavī*, Old Hindī *puhumi*. Skt. *mṛṇāla* 'lotus-fibre,' Prāk. *muṇāla*, Pāli *mulāla*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prāk. *u(d)ū*, *riū*, Pāli *utu*, Sindhī *rutī*, Guj. *rut(u)*. Mar. *rutū*. Skt. *vr̥ṣṭi* 'rain,' Prāk. *vuṭṭhī*, *vitṭhī*, Pāli *vutṭhī*. Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'old,' Uṛ. *būr̥hā*, *būdī*, Bang. *buḍā*, Hindī *buddhā*, *būdhā*, Panj. *buḍhā*, Sindhī *ḅudhō*, *ḅuḍhō*, Guj. *buṛhō* (cf. § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *par̥sti* 'back,' Phl., New Pers. *pušt*, Wāxī *part*, Māz. *pašt*, N. Bal. *phut*, Kurd. *pīšt*, Zaza *pašt*. Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Pāz. *kunom*, New Pers. *kunad*, Gil. *kudan*, *kardan*, Wāxī *čaram*, Šiy. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanag*, N. Bal. *khanay*, Kurd. *kirin*, Dig. Oss. *khanun*, Tag. *khanin* (cf.

also Skt. *akṛṇavam* 'I did,' Old Pers. *akunavam*; Skt. *akṛṇōt* 'did,' Old Pers. *akunauš*, as well as Av. *kərəta* 'done,' Bal. *kut*, N. Bal. *khutha*). Av. *varəḍka* 'kidney,' Phl. *gurtak*, New Pers. *gurdah*, Wāxī *valk*, Bal. *guttiγ*. Av. *fratərəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarsūtanō*, Afγ. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *trusag*, *tursay*, N. Bal. *thursay*, Kurd. *tirsin*, Dig. Oss. *tharsun*, Tag. *tharsin*.

[Somewhat similar to *r* > *u* is *r* > *ö* before sibilants in Wāxī, e. g. Av. *karšta* 'ploughed,' Wāxī *kōšt*.]

r > *ru*.

§ 75. The change of *r* to *ru* occurs but rarely, and like the change of *r* to *ri* (cf. § 72) it is found only initially.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥kṣa* 'tree,' Prāk. *rukḥa*, *rikkha*, *riccha*, *vracha*, Pāli *rukḥa*, Uṛ. *rūkha*, Mar. *rūkh*, Sinh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*, etc. (see § 69).

r > *ā*.

§ 76. The change of *r* to *ā* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pr̥sthā* 'back,' Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭhā*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Pāli *kasi*, Uṛ. *cāsa*, *tāsa*, Bang. *cās*.

r > *ī*.

§ 77. The change of *r* to *ī* is found very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *pr̥sthā* 'back,' Uṛ. *pīṭha*, *pīṭhi*, Bang., Hindī *pīṭh*, etc. (see § 71).

b. Iranian. Av. *paršti* 'back,' Kurd. *pīšt*, *pišt*, etc. (see § 74).

r > *ě*.

§ 78. The change of *r* to *ě* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house' beside *gēha*, Prāk. *gēha*, Pāli *gēha*, *ghara*, *gaha*, Old Hindi *gēha*, Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*, etc. (see § 67).

b. Iranian. Av. *varəša* 'forest,' Phl. *vēšak*, New Pers. *bēšah*, Kāš. *viša*, Māz., Tāl. *višē*, Kurd. *viša*.

r > *ō*.

§ 79. The change of *r* to *ō*, like the other developments of

Indo-Iranian *ṛ* considered in the sections immediately preceding, occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely,' Prāk. *mōsā*, *mūśā*, Pāli *musā* (in like manner Skt. *mṛṣavādin* 'lying,' Prāk. *mōsāvāa*, *mūśāvāa*, Pāli *musāvādin*).

ṛ > al.

§ 80. In the Indian dialects *ṛ* becomes *al* apparently only in the Māgadhī Prākrit. The Iranian dialects show a few examples of a development of *al* from an original *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛtvā* 'having done,' Prāk. *kariā*, Māg. Prāk. *kaliā*, Bihārī *ka(r)i*, Hindī *kar(i)*. Skt. *dhṛta* 'held,' Prāk. *dharia*, Māg. Prāk. *dhalidē*, Bihārī *dhaṛil*, *dhāil*, *dhayal* (in this word the Māg. *l* has been elided, while the Māg. *d* has become *l* as in all Bihārī perfect participles).

b. Iranian. Av. *vərəδka* 'kidney,' Wāxī *valk*, etc. (see § 74). Av. *varəka* 'leaf,' Phl. *varg*, New Pers. *barg*, Gab. *varak*, Kāš. *valg*, Māz. *varak*, Gil. *valg*, *valk*, Judaeo-Pers., Kurd. *valg*.

ṛ > r.

§ 81. The change of *ṛ* to *r* seems to occur only after *t* and before vowels, and it is apparently confined to the Sindhi.

a. Indian. Skt. *jāmātrka* 'son-in-law,' Prāk. *jāmāūa*, Sindhi *jāṭrō*. Skt. *mātrka* 'maternal uncle,' Prāk. *māūa*, Sindhi *mātrē*.

§ 82. Numerous examples may be cited where Indo-Iranian *ṛ* develops into different vowels in the same word in the same period and dialect.

a. Indian. Skt. *trṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *trṇu*, *taṇu*, *tiṇu*, etc. (see § 66). Skt. *grha* 'house,' Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *mṛttikā* 'earth,' Hindī, Panj., Guj. *maṭṭī*, *māṭī*, *mittī*, etc. (see § 68). Skt. *vṛnta* 'stem of a flower,' Prāk. *vinta*, *venta*, *vonta*, Pāli *vanta*. Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prāk. *isi*, *risi*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Prāk. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Guj. *pīṭh*, *puṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭha*, etc. (see § 71).

Skt. *tr̥ṣṇā* 'thirst,' Pāli *tiṇhā*, *taṇhā*, *tasinā*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely,' Prāk. *mōsā*, *musā*, *mūsā*, etc. (see § 79).

b. Iranian. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' New Pers. *barnā*, *burnā*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' Kurd. *karm*, *kurum*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *pr̥daku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pīlang*, *palang*, etc. (see § 68). Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Gīl. *kudan*, *kardan*, etc. (see § 74).

The great variety of changes undergone by Indo-Iranian *r* in the various Indo-Iranian dialects is obvious. Thus the *r* of Skt. *mṛttika* 'earth' > *a*, *i*, *ā*; the *r* of Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house' > *a*, *ē*; of Skt. *vṛddha* 'large' > *a*, *u*, *ō*; of Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ā*, *ī*; of Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely' > *u*, *ū*, *ō*. In like manner the *r* of Av. *pərəsahi* 'thou askest' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ō*; and of Av. *par̥sti* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ī*.

r̄.

§ 83. Indo-Iranian *r̄*, arising from Indo-Germanic *r̄*, *l̄*, stands in Indian in ablaut with *īr*, *ūr* (before consonants), *ir*, *ur* (before vowels), *āri*, *rā* (Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i. 22–30; Hirt, *Indogerm. Ablaut*, 48–49, 54–55, 60, 70–71, 76 sqq.). In Iranian the Indo-Iranian *r̄* is represented by *ar* (Bartholomae, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 25). The Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects have in general retained without change the old representations of Indo-Iranian *r̄*.

a.–b. Indo-Iranian. Skt. *tīrtha* 'across,' Prāk. *tittha*, *tūha*, Pāli *tittha*; Wāxī *tūrt*. Skt. *ūrmi* 'wave'; Av. *varəmi*, Sarq. *varm*, Bal. *gvarm*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *dīraha*, *dīha*, *diggha*, Pāli *dīgha*, Sindhī *ḍrighō*; Av. *darəya*, Old Pers. *darga*, New Pers. *dirāz*, Afy. *lārya*, Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāž*, Kurd. *dirīž*, Zaza *darg*, Oss. *dary*.

l̄.

§ 84. Indo-Germanic *l̄* is lost entirely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, and it disappeared from the Iranian dialects

in the pre-Iranian period. In Old Indian *ḷ* is very rare. The developments of *ḷ* in Middle Indian were analogous to those of *ṛ*:

a. Indian. Skt. *klṛpta* 'done,' Prāk. *kilitta*, Pāli *kappita*.

$$\bar{e} = \bar{e}.$$

§ 85. Indo-Iranian \bar{e} is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. In the Middle and New Indian dialects *e* is long only before vowels and single consonants. Before consonant-groups it is to be regarded as short. In Assamese *e* is invariably short.

Skt. *dēva* 'god,' Prāk. *dēa*, Pāli *dēva*, Kāśm. *day*, Ur., Bang. *dē*, Hindī *dēō*, *dēu*, Panj., Sindhī *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *del*. Skt. *prēma* 'love,' Prāk. *pemma*, Pāli *pēma*, New Indian dialects *p(r)ēm*.

b. Iranian. The confusion in New Persian of the *majhūl ē* with the *maʔrūf ī* has been noted above, § 35. The Caspian dialects also show this confusion, while the Judaeo-Persian, in common with several other Eastern Persian dialects, preserves carefully the distinction between \bar{e} and \bar{i} .

Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxī *līv*, Šiy. *δīv*, Sarq. *δēv*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḏaīri* 'beneath,' Phl. *ažēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zīr*, Sīv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Sāmm. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīr*. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Pamir dialects *vid*, Gab. *vīd*. Sīv. *vī*, Zaf., Kāš. *vē*, Vōn. *vīd*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Nat. *vīd*, Afy. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vī*, *bī(h)*.

$$\bar{e} > a.$$

§ 86. The change of \bar{e} to *a* is not frequent. In Western Bangālī, however, several instances of *a* are found where the Eastern Bangālī keeps the original \bar{e} unchanged (e.g. Skt. *ēka* 'one,' E. Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*).

a. Indian. Skt. *mleccha* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *milicchhu*, Pāli *milakkhu*. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēaraha*, Pāli *ekādasa*,

ēkārāsa, Kaśm. *kāh*, Ur., Bang. *ēgāra*, Bihārī *egyārah*, Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārām*, Sindhī *ikārahaṁ*, *yārahaṁ*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Afy. *vala*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *aēsma* 'fuel,' Phl. (*h*)*ēzam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēzam*, Gab. *izma*, Kāš., Kuhr. (*h*)*ēzam*, Kurd. *hazang*.

$\bar{e} > i$.

§ 87. The change of \bar{e} to *i* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In the Indian dialects the change occurs more frequently in the West than in the East. Among the Iranian dialects the Ossetish regularly develops *i* from \bar{e} before *n*.

a. Indian. Skt. *vēdanā* 'pain,' Prāk. *vianā*, *vēanā*, Pāli *vēdanā*. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Prāk. *diara*, *dēvara*, Pāli *dēvara*, Ur. *dējura*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dēvar*, *dēyar*, Sindhī *dēru*, Guj. *dēur*, *dēr*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dēyar*. Skt. *ēkādaśa* 'eleven,' Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Sindhī *ikārahaṁ*, *yārahaṁ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prativēsaka* 'neighbouring,' Pāli *paṭivissaka*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēza* 'garden,' Old Pers. *παρά]δεισος*, Phl. *diz*, New Pers. *diz*, *diž*, *dēz*. Phl. *mēhmān* 'guest,' New Pers. *mēhmān*, *mihmān*, Afy. *mēlma*, Kurd. *mēvān*. Old Pers. *naība* 'good,' Phl. *nēv(ak)*, New Pers. *nēk(ō)*, *nikō*. Av. *axšaēna* 'green,' Phl., New Pers. *xašin*, Šiy. *šōin*, Sarq. *xoin*, Yidg. *axšin*, Afy. *xīn*, *šin*, Kurd. (*ha*)*šin*, Oss. *axsinag*. Skt. *phēna* 'foam,' Dig. Oss. *finkha*, Tag. *finkh*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{a}$.

§ 88. The change of \bar{e} to \bar{a} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kēyūra* 'bracelet,' Pāli *kāyūra*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{i}$.

§ 89. The change of \bar{e} to \bar{i} is rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting in Pāzand and New Persian, where \bar{e} becomes \bar{i} regularly before a nasal.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Pāis. Prāk.

mēkha, Pāli *mēgha*, Hindī *mīnh*, *mēnh*, Panj. *mīnh*, *mīhan*, Sindhī *mīnhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnīk*, *bēnīk*, Pāz. *vīnī*, New Pers. *bīnī*, Sāmn. *vīnī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tāl. *vīnī*, Kurd. *bēn*, *bivīl*, E. Kurd. *baral*. Av. *axšaēna* 'blue,' Phl., New Pers. *xašīn*, Yidg. *axšīn*, Afγ. *xīn*, *šīn*, Kurd. (*ha*)*sīn*, etc. (see § 87). Av. *daēman* 'glance,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andīmānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Šīr., Zaf., Kāš. *dīm*, Kuhr. *dīm*, *düm*, Afγ. *lēma*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dē(m)v*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *sapēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *söbō*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid* (*ai* of secondary development, cf. New Pers. *dēr* 'long,' Sarq. loan-word *dair*), Yidg. *spī*, Kurd. *sipī*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*, New Pers. *yax*, Wāxī, Šīγ. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Yayn. *īx*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *īx*. Av. *haētu* 'bridge,' Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*.

$\bar{e} > \check{o}$.

§ 90. The change of \bar{e} to \check{o} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭana* 'crown,' Pāli *vēṭhana*, Sinh. *voṭunu*, New Sinh. *oṭunna*.

$\bar{e} > ai$.

§ 91. The change of \bar{e} to *ai* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^aaēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *x^aāi*, New Pers. *x^aai*, Wāxī *xīl*, Sarq. *xaiḏ*, Afγ. *x^aalē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēḏ*, Kurd. *xū*, *xoi*, *xōh*, Oss. *xad*.

$\bar{e} > y$.

§ 92. The change of \bar{e} to *y* is very rare and it occurs only initially. (This *y* is probably really prothetic.)

a. Sanskrit *ēka* 'one,' Prāk. *ekka*, Pāli *ēka*, Kāśm. *akh*, U₁, Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *ēk*, Old Hindī *ik(k)*, Hindī *ēk*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhī *hiku*, (*h*)*ēku*, *hikiḏō*, *hēkiḏō*, Guj. *ēk*, *āik*, Mar. *ēk*, *yēk*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēva* 'one,' Old Pers. *aiva*, Phl. *ēv(ak)*, Pāz., New Pers. *yak*, Vōn. *yav*, *ikī*, Kuhr. *y*, *ī*, *ik*, Wāxī *ī(v)*, Šīγ. *yīv*,

yī, yu, yū, Sarq. *iv, ī*, Sangl. *vak*, Minj. *yao*, Afγ. *yav*, Bal. *ēyōk*, Kurd. *īkī*, Dig. Oss. *yau*, Tag. *yu*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*, New Pers., Wāxī, Šīγ. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, etc. (see § 89).

Aphacresis of ē.

§ 93. The loss of initial *ē* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēraṇḍa* 'castor-oil tree,' Hindī *rēmdī*.

Apocope of ē.

§ 94. Final *ē* is lost in the New Indian dialects in the majority of instances.

a. Indian. Skt. *talē* 'beneath,' Ur. *tal(ē)*, Hindī *talē*, Guj., Mar. *tal, tal*. Skt. *saṅgē* 'with,' Ur. *saṅgē*, Hindī, Panj. *saṁn*, Sindhī *sām*, Guj. *saṁn*, Mar. *saṅgēm*.

The multiform changes to which a final *ē* is subject in the New Indian dialects may be well illustrated from the modern representatives of Old Indian **paścē* for the Sanskrit *paścāt* 'after.'

Skt. **paścē* 'after,' Apab. Prāk. *pacchaī*, Ur. *pachē, pāchu*, Bang. *pichē, pacchē*, Hindī *pāchē, pīchē, pāchū*, Panj. *pichē, pichōm*, Sindhī *pōē, puām*, Guj. *pachē, pachī, pachō*.

āi = āi.

§ 95. Indo-Iranian *āi* has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in the Iranian dialects in which *āi* is apparently retained show in reality a change of *āi* to *āy* (cf. § 108).

b. Iranian. Av. *rāi* 'radiance,' New Pers. *rāy*. [New Pers. *rāy* is, however, to be compared rather with Av. gen. sg. **rāyō*.]

āi > āi.

§ 96. The change of *āi* to *āi* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *sāinya* 'soldier,' Prāk. *sainna, senna*, Pāli *sēniya*.

$\bar{a}i > \bar{i}$.

§ 97. The change of $\bar{a}i$ to \bar{i} is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhāirya* 'firmness,' Prāk. *dhīra*, *dhijja*, U_r., Sindhī, Guj., Mar. *dhīr*.

$\bar{a}i > \check{e}$.

§ 98. The change of $\bar{a}i$ to \check{e} is the normal one to which $\bar{a}i$ is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects, where it is found very frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāila* 'hill,' Prāk., Pāli *sēla*. Skt. *kāivarta* 'fisherman,' Prāk., Pāli *kēvaṭṭa*, Hindī *kēvaṭ*. Skt. *tāila* 'oil,' Prāk., Pāli *tella*, New Ind. dialects *tēl*. Skt. *gāirika* 'red chalk,' Pāli *gērika*, U_r. *gēru*, Hindī *gērū*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērū*.

$\bar{o} = \bar{o}$.

§ 99. Indo-Iranian \bar{o} is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In Assamese \bar{o} , although it is retained in the script, is pronounced \check{u} . The New Persian presents the same confusion of the *majhūl* \bar{o} and the *ma}rūf* \bar{u} which has already been observed in the case of \bar{e} and \bar{i} (see §§ 35, 85). The Judaeo-Persian, like the majority of the East Iranian dialects, observes carefully the distinction between \bar{o} and \bar{u} (cf. § 85).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhōjana* 'food,' Prāk. *bhōaṇa*, Pāli *bhōjana*. Skt. *yōktra* 'yoke,' Pāli *yotta*, U_r., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *jōt*, Sindhī *jōṭō*, Guj. *jōtar*, Mar. *jōt*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Caspian dialects *rū*, excepting Kāš. *rū*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Wāxī *rau*j, Afy. *rraj*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *rūž*, *rō(ž)*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šīyn. *γūž*, Sarq. *γaul* (*au* of secondary development), Yidg. *γū*, Afy. *γvaiγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tāg. *qūs*. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, New Pers. *bō(i)*, Wāxī *vūl*, Sarq. *bao*, Yāyn. *vūd*,

Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōḍ*, *bōz*, Oss. *bud*. Av. *raoḍa* 'face,' Phl. *rōd*, New Pers. *rō(i)*, Judaeo-Pers. *rōi*.

$\bar{o} > au$.

§ 100. The change of \bar{o} to *au* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *saokāntavant* 'sulphurous,' Pāz. *sawagand*, New Pers. *saugand*.

$\bar{o} > a$.

§ 101. The change of \bar{o} to *a* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *godhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gahūm*, Uṛ. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindī *gō(in)hum*, *gēhum*, *ghēum*, Panj. *ghēum*, Sindhī *gēhum*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Phl. *sōxtanō*, *sōcinī-tanō*, New Pers. *sōxtan*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Gīl. $\sqrt{sūj}$, Sarq. *sauz*, Afγ. *sēzal*, *sējal*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay* (intrans.), Bal. *sōcag*, N. Bal. *sōšay* (trans.), Kurd. *sōtin*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sūjin*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarūk*, *sarīn*, New Pers. *sarōn*, *surīn*, Wāxī *šunj*, Šīγ. *šaun*, Sarq. *xaun*, Bal. *sarēn*. New Pers. *pōz* 'parts about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afγ. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pō(n)z*, N. Bal. *phōnz*, Kurd. *pūz*, *pōz*, Dig. Oss. *finje*, Tag. *fing*.

$\bar{o} > i$.

§ 102. The change of \bar{o} to *i* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Wāxī *γiš*, *γüš*, etc. (see § 99).

$\bar{o} > u$.

§ 103. The change of \bar{o} to *u* is common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. As in all cases of shortening, the phenomenon here discussed occurs especially before double consonants or consonant-groups.

a. Indian. The change of \bar{o} to *u* in the New Indian dialects occurs more frequently in the West than in the East, although

the Bangālī often has *u* where the other New Indian dialects show *ō*.

Skt. *rōcati* 'shines,' Prāk. *ruccaī*, Māg. Prāk. *lōadi*, Pālī *ruccati*, *rōcati*. Skt. *jyōtsnā* 'moon-lit night,' Prāk. *jōmhā*, Pālī *jumhā*. Skt. *ōjas* 'strength,' Jāina Prāk. *uya*, Pālī *ōja*. Skt. *lōṭyām* 'in a small water-pot,' E. New Ind. dialects *lōṭiyā*, W. New Ind. dialects *luṭiyā*. Skt., Pālī *lōhakāra* 'blacksmith,' Sindhī *luharu*.

Here too may be considered the Kaśmīrī *ō*, *ū* arising from *ō* through the umlaut of a following *ī*, e. g. Kaśm. *brōr* 'tom-cat,' fem. *brōr* (written *brārū*); Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'large,' Kaśm. *bodd* (written *baḍu*), fem. *būḍ* (written *baḍū*), etc. (see § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf*, New Pers. *kōh*, *kuh*, Kuhr. *kūfūn*, mountain Jewish *kuf*, Afγ. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak*, N. Bal. *khōfay*, Kurd. *kūwī*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl., New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrīk*, Kāš., Vōn. *mōrcuna*, Yidg. *muryah*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *maljig*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, etc. (see § 99). New Pers. *gōšah* 'corner,' Kurd. *gūž*, *gūša*, Bohtanī *kuši*.

ō > ī.

§ 104. The change of *ō* to *ī* is rather infrequent.

b. Iranian. Some of the New Iranian dialects preserve the transition-grade *ū*.

Phl. *mō(d)*, *mōī* 'hair,' New Pers. *mōi*, Gab. *mīd*, Sīv., Bahb., Nāy., Māz. *mī*, Gīl., Tāl. *mū*, other Caspian dialects *mū*, Bal. *mūd*, *mīd*, N. Bal. *mīd*. New Pers. *tōlah* 'puppy,' Sīv. *tīlū*.

ō > ū.

§ 105. In Pāzand and New Persian Indo-Iranian *ō* becomes *ū* regularly before *m* or *n* (compare the analogous change in these dialects of *ē* to *ī* before nasals, § 89). In Afyān *ō* becomes *ū* before *n*, but it remains unchanged before *m*. Elsewhere the change is sporadic only.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaona* 'colour,' Phl. *gūn(ak)*, New Pers.

gūn(ah), Afy. *γūna*. Av. *haoma* 'Homa-plant,' Phl. *hōm*, Pāz., New Pers. *hūm*, Afy. *ōma*. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Māz., Gīl. $\sqrt{sūj}$, Tag. Oss. *sūjīn*, etc. (see § 101). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Gab. *rūj*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Kurd. *rūž*, *rō(ž)*, etc. (see § 99). Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōγ*, New Pers. *durōγ*, *darōγ*, Māz. *darū*, *durū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōγ*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōγ*. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kurd. *rūn*.

$\bar{o} > \bar{e}$.

§ 106. The change of \bar{o} to \bar{e} is found with some frequency.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *rōhita* 'kind of fish,' Ass. *rō*, E. Hindī *rēhū*, Hindī *rōhū*, Panj. *rēhū*, Sinh. *rehe*, *rē*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Ass. *ghēñhu*, Hindī *gēhuñ*, *ghēuñ*, *gō(ñ)huñ*, Panj. *ghēuñ*, Sindhī *gēhuñ*, etc. (see § 101). Skt. *cōra* 'thief,' Prāk., Pāli *cōra*, New Ind. dialects *cōr*, excepting Kaśm. *čūr*, Sinh. *hera*, *hora*, Gyp. *cor*.

$\bar{o} > va$.

§ 107. The change of \bar{o} to *va* occurs regularly in Afyān, excepting before *m*, where \bar{o} is retained, and before *n*, where \bar{o} becomes *ū* (see § 105).

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Afy. *γvaiγ*, etc. (see § 99). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Afy. *rvaγ*, etc. (see § 99).

$\bar{a}u = \bar{a}u$.

§ 108. The Indo-Iranian $\bar{a}u$ has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in which $\bar{a}u$ has apparently been retained in the Iranian dialects show in reality a change of $\bar{a}u$ to $\bar{a}v$ (cf. § 95).

b. Iranian. Skt. *nāu* 'ship,' Av. *nāvaya* 'navigable,' Old Pers. *nāviyā* 'fleet' (?), Phl. *nāvīcak*, *nāvtāk*, New Pers. *nāv*. [The New Pers. *nāv* is, however, to be compared rather with the Av. gen. sg. **nāvō*.]

āu > aū.

§ 109. The change of *āu* to *aū* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pāura* 'citizen,' Prāk. *paūra*, Pāli *pōra*. Skt. *gāurava* 'respect,' Prāk. *gaūra*, Śāur. Prāk. *gōra*. Skt. *māuli* 'garland,' Prāk. *maūli*, Pāli *mōli*.

āu > u.

§ 110. The change of *āu* to *u* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāukṣēyaka* 'sword,' Prāk. *kukkhēaa*. Skt. *dāuvārika* 'porter,' Prāk. *duvvāria*, Pāli *dōvārika*. Skt. *cāurya* 'theft,' Prāk. *cōria*, Nāip. *cōrī*, Uṛ. *cōri*, Bang. *curi*, Hindī, Mar. *cōrī*. Skt. *āutsukya* 'zeal,' Prāk. *ōsukka*, Pāli *ussukka*.

āu > ū.

§ 111. The change of *āu* to *ū* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāurya* 'heroism,' Prāk. *sōria*, Sindhī *sūrihāi*.

āu > ō.

§ 112. The change of *āu* to *ō* is the normal one to which Indo-Iranian *āu* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects. It may also be noted that *āu* in Assamese script is always pronounced *ō*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāumudi* 'moonlight,' Prāk. *kōmui*, Pāli *kōmudi*, Gyp. *comut* 'moon.' Skt. *yāuvana* 'youth,' Prāk. *jovvaṇa*, Pāli *yobbana*, Sindhī *jobhanu*. Skt. *āupamya* 'analogy,' Pāli *ōpamma*. Skt. *gāura* 'pale,' Pāli *gōra*, New Ind. dialects *gōrā*. Skt. *jhāulika* 'pouch,' Uṛ., Bang. *jhūli*, *jhūli*, *jhōli*, Hindī *jhōli*, Guj., Mar. *jhōli*.

SINGLE CONSONANTS

§ 113. The Indo-Iranian consonants remain for the most part unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The law of spirantization which sharply distinguishes the Iranian from the Indian dialects is still operative, and all phenomena to be discussed in the following chapter must be considered with this fact in mind. The principal changes undergone by the Indo-Iranian single consonants are in general easily explicable. Common both to the Indian and to the Iranian dialects, although more frequent in the latter, is the change of an original voiced consonant to a voiceless, or the reverse. Aspiration and deaspiration, the loss of a consonant and the subsequent insertion of *y* or *v* in its place to avoid a resultant hiatus, are the most striking changes noted in the Indian dialects. The changes presented by the Iranian dialects in the single consonants are far more sporadic and less regular than those which are found in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects a voiceless intervocalic consonant regularly becomes voiced. In general it may be said that the Indian dialects have preserved the original Indo-Iranian vowels more faithfully than the Iranian dialects have, but that, on the other hand, the Iranian consonants have suffered less change than the Indian.

In the following paragraphs will be found in some detail the principal changes undergone by the Indo-Iranian consonants in the various Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

$$k = k.$$

§ 114. Indo-Iranian *k* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kathayati* 'tells,' Prāk. *kahaī*, *kahēi*, Pāli *kathēti*, U_r., Bang., Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kah*, Guj. *kēh*, Si^mh. *kiyanavā*. Skt. *ēka* 'one,' Prāk. *ekka*, Pāli *ēka*, Kāśm. *akh*, U_r., Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *ēk*, Old Hindī *ik(k)*, Hindī *ēk*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhī *hiku*, (*h*)*ēku*, *hikiḍō*, *hēkiḍō*, Guj. *ēk*, *āik*, Mar. (*y*)*ēk*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōh*, Kuhr. *kūfūn*, Tāt *kuf*, Afy. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak* N. Bal. *khofaγ*, Kurd. *kūāh*. Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Old Pers. *kunavāhy*, Phl. *karṭanō*, New Pers. *kardan*, Wāxī *čaram*, Šīyn. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanag*, N. Bal. *khanay*, Kurd. *kirin* Dig. Oss. *khanun*, Tag. *khanin*.

k > *kh*, *x*.

§ 115. In the Indian dialects the aspirization of an original *k* is only sporadic, but the Middle and New Iranian dialects regularly change *k* into the spirant *x* internally between vowels. In North Balūci *k* becomes *kh* regularly initially, and the change occurs uniformly both initially and finally in Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Prāk., Pāli *khujja*, U_r. *kūjā*, Bang. *ku(n)jā*, *kubjā*, Hindī *kubjā*, *kubbā*, *kubrā*, Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhī *kubō*, Guj. *kubarō*, Mar. *kubaḍā*, *khub*. Skt. *kāsa* 'cough,' Māhār. Prāk. *khāsa*, Pāli *kāsa*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *khāmsī*, *khāmsnā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Prāk. *kū(v)a*, Pāli *kūpa*, Kāśm. *khuh*, U_r., Bang. *kūā*, Hindī *kuām*, Panj. *khūhā*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Hindī *kōṛ*, Guj. *khōlō*. Skt. *sukumāra* 'youth,' Prāk. *sūmāla*, *sukumāla*, Pāli *sukhumāla*, *sukumāra*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxī *xuf*, Sarq. *xaf*, Bal. *kap*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Oss. *xaf(a)*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *kahrkāsa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargas*, New Pers. *kargas*, Bal. *kargaz*, N. Bal. *khargaz*, Oss. *kharkh*. Av. *ahmākam* 'of us,' Old Pers. *amāxam*, New Pers. *mā*, Kāš. (*h*)*ōmō*, *hāmā*, Oss. *max*. GAv. *xšmāka* 'yours,' YAv. *yušmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šarā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *niyāka*

'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afy. *nīka*, Bal. *nākū*, N. Bal. *nāxō*, fem. *nakh*.

$k > g$.

§ 116. The change of *k* to *g* is not frequent, excepting in the Iranian dialects internally between vowels.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kīra* 'parrot,' Sinh. *girā*, *giravā*, *kira*. Skt. *marakata* 'emerald,' Prāk. *maragaya*. Skt. *sakala* 'whole,' Māhār. Prāk. *sayala*, Pāli *sakala*, Bang. *sagun*, Bihārī *sagar*, Hindī *sagun*, *sagrā*, Panj. *sagrā*, Sindhī *sagunū*, Guj. *saglō*, Mar. *sagla*, Sinh. *siyalu*. Skt. *kāka* 'crow,' Prāk. *kāa*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kāg*, Sindhī *kāmgu*, Mar. *kāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ka* 'who?' New Pers. *kīh*, Wāxī *kui*, *koi*, Šiyn. *kai*, Sarq. *coi*, Bal. *kē*, N. Bal. *khai*, Tūr Kurd. *gō*, Dig. Oss. *kha*, Tag. *cī*, Kamuntī *khī*. Av. *yākarə* 'liver,' Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *jaɣar*, Kurd. *jark*, Oss. *igar*. Av. *sukuruna* 'porcupine,' Phl. *sukur*, New Pers. *sugur(nah)*, Gab. *sīxur*, Afy. *škōn*, *škun*, Bal. *sīkun*, N. Bal. *sīxun*.

$k > k_i$.

§ 117. The palatalization of *k* to *k_i* is found in Iranian.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Kurd. *kūh*, etc. (see § 114). Av. *kata* 'house' Kāš., Kuhr. *kīyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Yidg. *kyē*, etc. (see following §).

$k > c, č$.

§ 118. The change of *k* to *c* is very rare in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects *c* or *č* is not infrequently developed from an original *k*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kirāta* 'name of a degraded tribe,' Prāk. *cila(d)a* (but *kirāya* 'monkey'). Skt. *kunda* 'turner,' Pāli *cunda*. Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Pāli *kasi*, Ur. *cāsa*, *tāsa*, Bang. *cās*. Skt. *gōṣṭhika* 'belonging to a village,' Sindhī *gōṭhēcō*.

[Here may be noted the Kaśmīrī change of *k* to *c* in the formation of the feminine, e. g. Kaśm. *bātuk* 'drake,' *bātuc* 'duck.']

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *katak*, New Pers. *kad(ah)*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kiyah*, Vön. *kē*, Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxī *kat*, Šīyn. *čīd*, Sarq. *cēd*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*. Av. *kərata* 'knife,' Phl. *kārt*, New Pers. *kārd*, N. Afγ. *cārah*, Bal. *kārd(a)*, N. Bal. *khārca*, Kurd. *kīr(d)*, Oss. *khard*. New Pers. *kaik* 'flea,' Kurd. *kēc*, *kac*. Av. *ka* 'who?' Sarq. *coi*, Tag. Oss. *cī*, etc. (see § 116). Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sīcīn*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šīšan*, *šīšin*, *sēšin*, Kurd. *šūžin*.

$k > t$.

§ 119. The change of *k* to *t* is very rare. In many of its occurrences it is due to dissimilation.

a. Indian. Skt. *kr̥ṣi* 'agriculture,' Ur. *tāsa*, *cāsa*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kakkōla* 'bdellium,' Pāli *takkōla*, Sinh. *takul*.

$k > p$.

§ 120. The change of *k* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jalūkikā* 'leech,' Pāli *jalupikā*, *jalūka* (due in this example to dissimilation).

$k > bh$.

§ 121. The change of *k* to *bh* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīkara* 'spray,' Prāk. *sī(h)ara*, *sībhara*, Pāli *sīkara*. [See now Pischel, § 206.]

$k > y$.

§ 122. The change of *k* to *y* is only apparent. The *k* is actually lost through the transition-grade *g*, and *y* is then inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of the *k*. The phenomenon is far less frequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Nāip. *narival*, Bang. *nārēl*, Bihārī *nāriyar*, Hindī *nāriyal*, Panj. *narēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhī *nārēlu*, *nāiru*, Guj. *nāriyal*, Mar. *nāraḷ*. Skt. *ākāra*

'figure,' Prāk. *āgāra*, Māhār. *āyāra*, *ākāra*, Pāli *ākāra*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Ur. *kōyila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkīl*, Simh. *kovullā*, Anglo-Ind. *koīl*. Skt. (*u*)*daka* 'water,' Jaina Prāk. *daga*, Pāli *daka*, *ōka*, Simh. *daga*, *daya*, *diya*. Skt. *cakōra* 'sort of bird,' Elu *siyuru*, Simh. *siyuru*, *sivru*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *māṭikān* 'mare,' New Pers. *mādigān*, Bal. *mādyān*, N. Bal. *māḍin*, *māzin*.

$k > v$.

§ 123. The change of *k* to *v*, like that of *k* to *y*, is only apparent. The *k* is actually lost through the transition-grade *g*, and *v* is then inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of the *k*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuka* 'parrot,' Pāli *suka*, *suva*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Pāli *nakula*, Ur., Bang. *nēul*, Hindī *nēval*, Panj. *nēul*, Sindhī *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Simh. *kovullā*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Skt. *vikāśatē* 'appears,' Phl. *gukās* 'witness,' Pāz. *guvāh*, *guvāi*, New Pers. *guvā(h)*. Skt. *vikarōti* 'transposes,' Phl. *gukarītanō*, Pāz. *guhārād*, New Pers. *guvārad*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*.

$k > ś$.

§ 124. The change of *k* to *ś* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šišan*, *šišin*, *sēšin*, etc. (see § 118).

$k > h$.

§ 125. The change of *k* to *h* is rare in the Indian and especially rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* 'crystal,' Prāk. *phaliha*, *phaliya*, *phaḍia*, Pāli *phalika*. Skt. *śrikā* 'beauty,' Māhār. Prāk. *siriḥā*. Skt. *nikaśa* 'touchstone,' Prāk. *nihasa*, Jaina Prāk. *nihasa*, *nighasa*,

Pāli *nikasa*. Skt. *srjanakāra* 'creator,' Sindhī *sirjanahāru*. Skt. *ākāśa* 'sky,' Prāk. *āyāsa*, Pāli *ākāsa*, Sinh. *ahasa*, *āsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Kurd. *sah*, etc. (see § 123).

k > *z*, *ž*.

§ 126. The change of *k* to *z*, *ž* occurs with extreme rarity in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sōzō*, Kurd. *šūžin*, etc. (see § 118).

Aphaeresis of k.

§ 127. The loss of an initial *k* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kuddāla* 'hoe,' Ur. *kōrā*, Bang. *kōḍal*, Sindhī *kōrārī*, Guj. *kōḍārō*, Sinh. *udalu*, *udālla*.

Syncope of k.

§ 128. The loss of an internal *k* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, although it is noteworthy that the phenomenon occurs more often in the Middle than in the New period.

a. Indian. Skt. *avakāśa* 'opportunity,' Prāk. *ōāsa*, *avayāsa*, Pāli *ōkāsa*, *avakāsa*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Ur., Bang., Panj. *nēul*, Sindhī *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*, etc. (see § 123). Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Bang. *nārēl*, Panj. *narēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhī *nārēlu*, *nāiru*, Mar. *nāral*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pāli *cammakāra*, Ur. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindī, Panj. *camār*, Sindhī *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cāmhār*.

Apocope of k.

§ 129. The loss of a final *k* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *baḍaka* 'servant,' Phl. *bandak*, New Pers. *bandah*. Phl. *cārak* 'means,' Pāz. *cāra*, New Pers. *cārah*, Afy. *cāra*, *čara*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*,

Kāš. *aspā*, *asbā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afγ. *spai*, etc. (see § 123).
Skt. *navaka* 'lad,' New Pers. *navah*, Kurd. *lāv*, *lō*, *lau(k)*. Phl. *xānak* 'house,' New Pers. *xānah*, Kurd. *xānī*, Mukrī *xānū*.

Epenthesis of k.

§ 130. The insertion of *k* is very rare (merely graphic?).

b. Iranian. Av. *miθaoxta* 'lie,' Phl. *mīōkxt*, Pāz. *mīduxt*.

kh = kh.

§ 131. Indo-Iranian *kh* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nakha* 'nail,' Prāk., Pāli *nakha*, Gyp. *nay*. Skt. *likhati* 'writes,' Prāk. *lihaī*, Pāli *likhati*, Kāsm. *lekh*, Hindī *likhnā*, Guj. *lakhavum*, Mar. *lihiṇēm*, Siṁh. *liyanavā*. Skt. *khara* 'donkey,' Prāk., Pāli *khara*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khāī*, Pāli *khādati*, Uṛ. *khāībā*, Bang. *khāitē*, Hindī *khānā*, Panj. *khāṇā*, Sindhī *khāīṇu*, Guj. *khāvum*, Mar. *khāṇēm*, Siṁh. *kanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Phl., New Pers. *xar*, Wāxī *xur*, Šiγn. *har*, Sarq. *car*, *sar*, Sangl. *xar*, Minj. *xara*, Yidg. *xuruh*, Afγ. *xar*, N. Bal. *khar*, *xar*, Kurd. *k(i)ar*, Zaza *xar*, Oss. *xarag*. Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Phl. *nāxān*, New Pers. *nāxun*, Afγ. *nāk*, Bal. *nakun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*, Oss. *nix*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' New Pers. *yax*, Wāxī *yix*, Šiγn. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Yaγn. *ix*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *ix*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Afγ. *max*.

kh > k.

§ 132. In the Indian dialects the deaspirization of an original *kh* is very rare, but in the later Iranian dialects the phenomenon is somewhat more frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *khalu* 'indeed,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *ku*, lit. Prāk. *khu*, Pāli *khō*, *khalu*. Skt. *khā* 'spring,' Pāli *kā*, *khā*, Gyp. *chev*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Kurd. *k(i)ar*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, etc. (see preceding §).

kh > gh, γ.

§ 133. The change of *kh* to *gh, γ*, is found occasionally in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēkha* 'line,' Prāk. *rēha*, Pāli *rēkha*, Hindī, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhī *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, *rēkh*, Mar. *rēgh*. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'chain,' Prāk. *saṁkala*, *saṁkhalā*, *simkhalā*, Pāli *saṁkhalā*, Kāśm. *hāmhala*, Ur. *sāmkala*, *sāmkara*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, Panj., Sindhī *saṁghar*, Guj. *sāmkal*, Mar. *sā(n)kal*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śākhā* 'twig,' Phl. *šāk*, New Pers. *šāx*, *šāγ*.

kh > c.

§ 134. The change of *kh* to *c* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Sarq. *car*, *sar*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > s.

§ 135. This change, like the preceding one, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Sarq. *sar*, *car*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > h.

§ 136. The change of *kh* to *h* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although it occurs less frequently in the latter group of languages.

a. Indian. Skt. *sakhi* 'friend,' Prāk. *sahī*, Pāli *sakhi*, Sindhī *sahī*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Prāk. *muha*, Pāli *mukha*, Bihārī *mu(n)h*, Hindī *munh*, Panj. *mūmhu*, *mukum*, Sindhī *munhum*, *mukhu*, Simh. *muva*, Gyp. *muy*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Šiyn. *har*, etc. (see § 131). Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > y.

§ 137. The change of *kh* to *y*, like that of *k* to *y* (see § 122), is only apparent.

a. Indian. Skt. *likhati* 'writes,' Sinh. *liyanavā*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > *v*.

§ 138. The change of *kh* to *v*, which is, like that of *k* to *v* (see § 123), only apparent, occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Sinh. *muva*, etc. (see § 136).

Prothesis of kh.

§ 139. Prothetic *kh* is found quite frequently in the Iranian dialects prefixed to words which originally began with vowels.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēšma* 'wrath,' Phl. *xēšm*, New Pers. *xišm*. Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiyn. *yurš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afγ. *yaž*, Kurd. *virç*, *hirc*, *hirš*, Zaza *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Gk. *ᾠόν* 'egg,' Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuc*, Afγ. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *haʔik*, *hī*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*. Skt. *āma* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxī *yüng*, Afγ. *ōm*, *īm*, Bal. *hāmag*, N. Bal. *hāmaγ*, Kurd. *xāv*.

g = *g*.

§ 140. Indo-Iranian *g* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, except for the Iranian law of spirantization which develops *γ* from *g*, unless the *g* is either initial or is preceded by a nasal or a sibilant.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gadrabha*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Ur. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, Bihārī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddō*, Sindhī *garaku*, Guj. *gadhēḍō*, Mar. *gāḍhav*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *juaḷu*, Pāli *yugala*, Ur. *jugaḷa*, Bang., Hindī, Panj., Guj. *jugal*, Mar. *julā*, *jūḷ*, *juval*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garmapada*, Phl., New Pers. *garm*, Šiyn. *garm*, Sarq. *gürm*, *žürm*, Afγ. *γārma*, Bal., Kurd. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *γarm*, Tag. *qarm*. Av. *gāu* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gō*, *gav*, Zaf., Kāš., Vōn. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxī *γau*, *γū*, Šiyn. *žāv*, Sarq. *žao*, Sangl., Minj. *γao*, Yaγn. *gova*, Afγ. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *qūg*. Skt. *bhōga* 'joint,' Bal. *bōg*, N. Bal. *bōγ*.

$g > k$.

§ 141. The change of the voiced g to the voiceless k is not frequent in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects it is still more rare, excepting in the Tagaurish Ossetish, which has g initially for Indo-Iranian g (Digaurish γ).

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Prāk. *ṇaara*, Māhār. Prāk. *nayara*, Pāis. Prāk. *nakara*, New Ind. dialects *nāir*, *nēr*, Sinh. *nuvara*, *niyari*. Skt. *maga* 'Magian,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *maka*. Skt. *chagala* 'goat,' Pāli *chakala*. Skt. *ajagara* 'boa-constrictor,' Pāli *ajakara*, *ajagara*. Skt. *garuḍa* 'mythical bird,' Prāk. *garuḍa*, *garuḷa*, *galuḍa*, Pāli *garuḷa*, Eḷu *gurulu*, Sinh. *kurulla*. Skt. *ga(m)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(m)bhīra*, Ur. *gahira*, Hindī *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhī *gahirō*, Sinh. *gāmburu*, *kumburu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Tag. Oss. *qarm*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šīyn. *γūž*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaiγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*.

$g > gh, \gamma$.

§ 142. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian g is rare and only sporadic in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects g becomes γ regularly, excepting initially or after a nasal or a sibilant. In the Pāmīr dialects, in Afγān, and in Digaurish Ossetish Indo-Iranian g becomes γ also initially.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha*, *gēha* 'house,' Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kāsm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindī *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*. Skt. *gōḍhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōḍhūma*, Ass. *ghēm̐hu*, Nāip. *gahūm̐*, Ur. *ga(ha)ma*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm̐*, Hindī *gō(m̐)hum̐*, *gēhum̐*, *ghēum̐*, Panj. *ghēum̐*, Sindhī *gēhum̐*, Guj. *ghaūm̐*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juγ*, Šīyn. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūγ*, Kurd. *jūk*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šīyn.

yūž, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaiγ*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaða* 'thief,' Afγ. *γal*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, New Pers. *mury*, Māz. *mary*, Afγ. *marya*, Kurd. *mrišk*, Oss. *mary*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Saf. *nū*, Nāy. *nāu*, Minj. *nayan*, Cent. Dial. *nūn*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *nayan*.

g > y.

§ 143. The change of *g* to *y* is only apparent. The *g* is in reality lost, and *y* is then inserted to prevent the resulting hiatus (cf. §§ 122, 137).

a. Indian. Skt. *jagat* 'world,' Māhār. Prāk. *jaya*, Sindhī *jaḡu*, *jaḡaṭu*. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Māhār. Prāk. *nayara*, Sindh. *niyari*, *nuvara*, etc. (see § 141). Skt. *nāga* 'snake,' Prāk., Pāli *nāga*, Sindh. *nayā*, *nā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' Phl. *zarīngūn*, New Pers. *zargūn*, Afγ. *zaryūn*.

g > v.

§ 144. The change of *g* to *v* in the Indian dialects is only an apparent one, the *v* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of the original *g* (cf. §§ 123, 138). In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the change of *g* to *v* is a real one. The phenomenon does not occur frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Sindh. *nuvara*, *niyari*, etc. (see § 141).

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *magu* 'Magian,' Phl. *magū*, *magūpat*, *marpat*, New Pers. *muy*, *mōγ*, *mōbad*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, etc. (see § 142). New Pers. *xargōš* 'hare' (lit. 'donkey-eared,' Av. **xara-gaoša*), Kurd. *karvaš*.

g > ž.

§ 145. The change of *g* to *ž* is excessively rare, although it is sometimes found initially in sporadic words in Šiynī and Sariqolī.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāu* 'cow,' Šiyn. *zāv*, Sarq. *zao*, etc. (see § 140). Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Sarq. *žürm*, *gürm*, etc. (see § 140).

g > h.

§ 146. The change of *g* to *h* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāginēya* 'sister's son,' Pāli *bhāgiṇeja*, Sinh. *bāhānā*, *bānā*.

Syncope of g.

§ 147. The loss of an internal *g* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although the New Indian does not suffer syncope of *g* as frequently as do the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāgadhēya* 'share,' Prāk. *bhāadēha*, Māhār. Prāk. *bhāya*, Pāli *bhāga*. Skt. *sṛgāla* 'jackal,' Prāk. *siāla*, Pāli *sigāla*, Ur. *śiāla*, *śēāla*, Bang. *siāl*, Sinh. *hivalā*. Skt. *āgata* 'arrived,' Māg. Prāk. *āade*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'two-fold,' Prāk. *duuṇa*, Pāli *diguṇa*, Hindī, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhī *ḍūṇā*, Mar. *dūṇ*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahinī*, *bhaiṇī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Ur. *bhāuṇī*, *bhaiṇī*, Bang. *baīn*, Hindī *bahin*, Panj. *bhāiṇ*, *bāimh*, Sindhī *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīṇ*, *bhāiṇ*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *jualu*, Mar. *julā*, *jūl*, *juval*, etc. (see § 140).

b. Iranian. Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōy*, New Pers. *durōy*, Māz. *darū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōy*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōy*, Kurd. *darāv*, *darau*. Av. *ci* 'what?' + *gaona* 'kind,' Phl. *cigūn(īh)*, New Pers. *cigūnah*, *cūn*.

gh = gh.

§ 148. Indo-Iranian *gh* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prāk. *ghaḍa*, Hindī *ghaḍā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍī*, Gyp. *khōrō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maēya* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *mēy*, Dig. Oss. *mēya*, Tag. *mīy*.

gh > *k*.

§ 149. The change of *gh* to *k* occurs very rarely as a final in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašəmaoya* 'destroying righteousness,' Phl. *ahramōk*. Av. *daya* 'conflagration,' Phl. *dāγ*, New Pers. *dāγ*, Bal. *dāg*, N. Bal. *dāγ*, Kurd. *dak*.

gh > *kh*.

§ 150. The change of *gh* to *kh* occurs regularly in Pāisācī Prākrit.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Pāis. Prāk. *mēkha*, Pāli *mēgha*, Hindī *mēm̐h*, *mūm̐h*, Panj. *mūm̐h*, *mīham̐*, Sindhī *mīm̐hu*.

gh > *g*.

§ 151. The deaspirization of *gh* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting in Kāśmīrī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ghōṭaka* 'horse,' Prāk. *ghōḍaa*, Pāli *ghōṭaka*, New Ind. dialects *ghōra*, but Kāśm. *gur̥*^u, Gyp. *garō*. Skt. *vighaṭatē* 'perishes,' Pāli *vighātēti*, U_r, Bang. *bigaḍa*, Hindī, Panj. *bigaḍ*, Sindhī *bigiḍ*, Guj. *bagad*, Mar. *bighaḍ*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *γulyul* 'chatter,' Kurd. *gālagāl*, *galgāl*.

gh > *h*.

§ 152. The change of *gh* to *h* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *laghu* 'light,' Prāk., Pāli *lahu*, Sīmh. *lahu*, *luhu*. Skt. *araghaṭṭa* 'well-wheel,' Hindī, Panj. *(a)rahaṭ*, Sindhī *ar(a)ṭu*, Guj. *rēm̐ṭ*, Mar. *rahāṭ*. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Hindī *mēm̐h*, *mūm̐h*, Panj. *mūm̐h*, *mīham̐*, Sindhī *mīm̐hu*, etc. (see § 150).

b. Iranian. Av. **baya-stāna* 'abode of God,' Old Pers. τὸ Βαγίστανον ὄπος, Pāz. *bay*, New Pers. *bahistūn*, *bahistān*, *bīstūn*.

Syncope of gh.

§ 153. The loss of Indo-Iranian *gh* internally is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raṣa* nom. prop., Old Pers. *raga*, Phl. *rak*, *rāi*, New Pers. *rai*.

ṛ, ṇ

§ 154. Of the Middle and New Indian dialects the Sindhī, Assamese, and Nāipālī alone have retained *ṛ, ṇ*, pronounced *ṛg* and *ṇi*. In the rest of the New Indian and in all the Iranian dialects *ṛ* and *ṇ* have been lost. The Sindhī *ṛ* and *ṇ* are of secondary development in the majority of their occurrences.

c = c.

§ 155. Indo-Iranian *c* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, although in the latter group internal Indo-Iranian *c* is rare, excepting in Pahlavī and Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāri* 'four,' Prāk. *cattāri*, *caūro*, Pāli *catu*, Uṛ., Bang. *cāri*, Kāśm. *čōr*, Hindī, Panj. *cār*, Sindhī *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*. Skt. *nīcē* 'beneath,' Uṛ., Bang. *nīca*, Hindī *nīcā*, Panj. *nīcōm*, Sindhī, Guj. *nīcē*, Mar. *nīc*.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl., New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Sīv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš., Vōn. *cam*, Kuhr. *caš*, Samn., Māz. *cas*, Gil. *ciš*, Wāxī *cōžm*, Šiyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Sangl. *šam*, Minj. *cam*, Yidg. *cum*, Bal. *cam*, N. Bal. *cham*, Kurd. *cāv*, Zaza *cim*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*. Av. *carra* 'wheel,' Phl. *carx*, New Pers. *carx*, *cahr*, Kāš. *cōrā*, *cīr*, Dig. Oss. *calx*. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Old Pers. *ciθra*, Phl. *citrē*, *cihr(ak)*, New Pers. *cihr(ah)*, Afy. *čīra*, *sīra*, Kurd. *cāra*.

c > č.

§ 156. The change of the palatal *c* to the affricative *č* is very rare in the Indian dialects, excepting in Kāśmīrī, Kafīrī, and East Bangālī. In early tadbhavas, *dēšajas*, and before non-palatal

vowels the Marāṭhī pronounces *c* as *č*, and *j* as *ǰ*, but before the palatal vowels *ī*, *ē*, in tatsamas and late tadbhavas the old sounds of *c* and *j* are retained. The Iranian dialects show few instances of a change of *c* to *č*, excepting in the Persian dialects and in Afyān.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāri* 'four,' Kāśm. *čōr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kaf. *māč* 'man,' Sindhī *mācu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šīyn. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yidg. *čīr*, Afy. *čalōr*, Bal. *cār*, N. Bal. *cyār*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čipphar*. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Šīyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *pazēt*, New Pers. *pazad*, Gab. *paxa*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *paxta*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bazazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fičun*, Tag. *fičīn*.

c > ch.

§ 157. The change of *c* to *ch* is found initially in North Balūčī.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' N. Bal. *cham*, etc. (see § 155).

c > j.

§ 158. The change of the tenuis *c* to the media *j* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. It is, on the other hand, common between vowels in the Persian dialects, where the New Persian shows *z* (see § 167).

a. Indian. Skt. *acalā* 'earth,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *ajalā*, Māhār. Prak. *ayalā*. Skt. *sruc* 'ladle,' Pāli *suja*. Skt. *māca* 'glass,' Mar. (vulg.) *māj*.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Phl. *sōcēm*, Pāz. *sōzēt*, New Pers. *sōzam*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Gil. ✓*sūj*, Sarq. *sauz*, Afy. *sējal*, *svažavul*, *sēzal*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sūjīn*. Av. *haca + aḍairi* 'from beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Šīr. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central

dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *raocat* 'spoke,' Phl. *vāc(ak)* 'voice,' New Pers. *vāž*, *bāj*, Gab. *vivaji*, Zaf. *vāž*, Kāš. *vōj*, Vön. *bōjū*, Kuhr. *bavōjī*, Nāy. *ūvāj*.

$c > \check{j}$.

§ 159. The change of *c* to *j* is excessively rare. Cases of it are found in Afyān and Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Afy. *sējāl*, *svāj-avul*, *sēzal*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sūjin*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(īh)*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Sīv. *rōšā*, Caspian dialects *rū*, but Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Afy. *rvāj*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruž*, *rō(ž)*.

$c > \check{t}h$.

§ 160. The change of *c* to *th*, like all other changes in which the cerebrals are concerned, is confined to the Indian dialects. It is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *caṅcu* 'beak,' Ur. *thaṇṭ*, *thomṭ*, Bang. *ṭhōmṭ*, *cōmṭ*, Hindī *ṭhōmṭh*, *cōmc*, Guj. *cāmc*, Mar. *cōmc*.

$c > t$.

§ 161. The change of *c* to *t* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *cikitsā* 'cure,' Jaina Prāk. *tēgicchā*, Pāli *tikicchā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Kāš. *patan*, Kurd. *pātin*, etc. (see § 156). Old Pers. *cišciy* 'anything,' New Pers. *cīz*, Kurd. *tišt*.

$c > \check{t}h, \theta$.

§ 162. The change of *c* to *th*, *θ*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *caṅcu* 'beak,' Ur. *thaṇṭ*, *thōmṭ*, etc. (see § 160).

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Bayazid Kurd. *pāthin*, etc. (see § 156).

$c > d$.

§ 163. The change of c to d occurs with extreme rarity excepting in Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prāk. *āyariya*, Pāli *ācāriya*, Sinh. *ādurā*, Maladive *eduru*. Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Prāk. *mucaī*, Māhār. Prāk. *muyaī*, Pāli *muṇcati*, Sinh. *mudanavā*.

$c > y$.

§ 164. The change of c to y is only an apparent one, y being inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the syncope of c (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143).

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prāk. *āyariya*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Māhār. Prāk. *muyaī*, etc. (see preceding §).

$c > s$.

§ 165. In Assamese and West Hindī c is always pronounced s . The Sinhalese often changes c to s , which may further develop into h . Of the Iranian dialects the Afyān shows the development of s from c most frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Prāk., Pāli *cakka*, Ass. *cāk* (pron. *sāk*), Ur. *cak*, E. Hindī *cāk*, W. Hindī *cakkī* (pron. *sakkī*), Panj. *cakk*, Sindhī *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāk*, Sinh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *pacati* 'cooks,' Pāli *pacati*, New Ind. dialects \sqrt{pac} , Sinh. *pāsavanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Afy. *sīra*, *čīra* (see § 155).

$c > š$.

§ 166. The change of c to $š$ occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from,' Old Pers. *hacā*, Phl. *aj*, New Pers. *az*, *z(i)*, Wāxī, Sarq. *z*, Afy. *ž*, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *až*, *ž(a)*. Phl. *nācuk* 'tender,' New Pers. *nāzūk*, Kuhr. *naštar*. Phl. *(h)ēc* 'ever,' Pāz. *hēc(i)*, New Pers. *(h)ēc*, *hēš*, Kāš. *ēc*. Av. *raocah*

‘day,’ Sīv. *rōšā*, N. Bal. *rōš*, etc. (see § 159). Phl. *cōp* ‘wood,’ New Pers. *cōb*, Šīr. *cūy*, Wāxī *šōkk*, Sarq. *xaib*, Kurd. *cō*, Amarlu *šiv*.

c > *z*.

§ 167. The change of *c* to *z* is made regularly in New Persian between vowels, after *r*, and finally.

b. Iranian. Av. *tacaiti* ‘runs,’ Phl. *tācēt*, *tāzēt*, New Pers. *tāzad*, Wāxī *tōcam*, Sarq. *taʃam*, Afγ. *tašal*, Bal. *tacag*, N. Bal. *thašay*, Dig. Oss. *thajin*. Av. *raucah* ‘day,’ New Pers. *rōz*, etc. (see § 159). Av. *sacaiti* ‘follows,’ Phl. *sāxtanō*, New Pers. *sāzad*, Kāš. *basōj*, Judaeo-Pers. *sāzad*.

c > *ž*.

§ 168. The change of *c* to *ž*, which is closely akin to that discussed in the preceding paragraph, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *hucitra* ‘beautiful,’ Phl. *hucih*, New Pers. *hužir*, *xužir*, *hužir*. Av. *raucah* ‘day,’ Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Kurd. *rūž*, *rōž*, *rō*, etc. (see § 159). Old Pers. *καπίθη* ‘measure for wheat,’ Phl. *kapīc*, New Pers. *hazīž*, *kavīz*.

c > *h*.

§ 169. The change of *c* to *h* is made, as already noted in § 165, through the transition-grade *s*. It is not of common occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* ‘wheel,’ Sinh. *hak*, *sak*, etc. (see § 165). Skt. *cōra* ‘thief,’ Prāk., Pāli *cōra*, New Ind. dialects and Gyp. *cōr*, Sinh. *hora*, *hera*.

c > *cʰ*.

§ 170. The change of *c* to *cʰ* is found occasionally in the North Balūčī.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* ‘four,’ N. Bal. *cyār*, etc. (see § 156).

Syncope of c.

§ 171. The loss of Indo-Iranian *c* occurs not infrequently in the

Indo-Iranian dialects. It is more common in the Middle than in the New Indian period. In the Iranian dialects, where the syncope is found least often, *c* is lost only in the vicinity of long vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *vacana* 'voice,' Prāk. *vaṇa*, *vacana*, Pāli *vacana*, Sindhī *vacanu*. Skt. *sūci* 'needle,' Prāk. *sūi*, Pāli *sūci*, Ur., Bang. *sūci*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *sūi*, Guj. *sōy*, Mar. *suī*, Gyp. *sur*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Caspian dialects *rū*, Kurd. *rō*, *rōž*, *ruž*, etc. (see § 159).

ch = *ch*.

§ 172. It is only in the Indian dialects that *ch* occurs. Here, however, it is in general preserved unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. ✓*chap* 'go' (?), Ur. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *chāpitē*, *cāpitē* 'to conceal,' *ṭēpitē*, Hindī *chāpanā*, *cānpanā* 'to print, to squeeze,' *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, *ṭipanā* 'to bury,' Sindhī *chāpanu*, *cāpanu* 'to shampoo,' *ṭapuḍānu*, *ṭhapanu*, Mar. *chāpanēm*, *cāpaṭanēm*, *ṭap*, *ṭhapakā*, Anglo-Indian (first) *chop*, *shampoo*.

ch > *c*.

§ 173. The deaspirization of *ch* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. ✓*chap* 'go' (?), Bang. *cāpitē*, *chāpitē*, Hindī *cānpanā*, *chāpanā*, Sindhī *cāpanu*, *chāpanu*, Mar. *cāpaṭanēm*, *chāpanēm*, etc. (see preceding §).

ch > *ṭ*.

§ 174. The change of *ch* to *ṭ* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. ✓*chap* 'go' (?), Ur. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *ṭēpitē*, Hindī *ṭipanā*, *ṭhapanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *tōpanā*, Sindhī *ṭapuḍanu*, *ṭhapanu*, Mar. *ṭap*, *ṭhapanu*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > *ṭh*.

§ 175. The change of *ch* to *ṭh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. ✓*chap* 'go' (?), Hindī *ṭhapanā*, *ṭipanā*, *ṭō-*

panā, *tōpanā*, Sindhī *ṭhapaṇu*, *ṭapuḍaṇu*, Mar. *ṭhapaṅkā*, *ṭāp*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > *t*.

§ 176. The change of *ch* to *t* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *√chap* 'go,' Hindī *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭīpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > *s*.

§ 177. Many New Indian dialects, especially Assamese, Bangālī, and Marāṭhī, as well as the others in sporadic instances, pronounce or write *s* instead of *ch*.

a. Indian. Skt. *pr̥chati* 'asks,' Prāk. *pucchaī*, Pāli *pucchati*, Ur. *pūchanā*, *pacāra*, Bang. *puchitē*, Hindī *pūchanā*, Panj. *pucch*, Sindhī *puchaṇu*, Guj. *puchavum*, Mar. *pusaṇēm*.

With this change of *ch* to *s* may perhaps be compared the cases where Iranian *s* = Indian *ch*, e.g.

Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāyā*, *chāā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā* 'shadow,' Ur. *chāhina*, Hindī *chām(v)*, *chām̐h*, *chāōm*, Panj. *cā(ū)m*, Sindhī *chām(v)*, Guj. *cāmy*: Av. *asaya*, Phl. *sāyak*, New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāi*, Kurd. *sī*.

j = *j*.

§ 178. Indo-Iranian *j* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jaṇgha* 'leg,' Prāk., Pāli *jaṁgha*, Nāip. *jāṇ*, Bang. *jāṁgī*, E. Hindī, Hindī *jāṁgh*, Panj. *jāṁgh*, Sindhī *jaṇgh*, *jāṁgh*, Guj., Mar. *jaṁghā*, *jāṁgh*, Gyp. *cang*. Skt. *bhrātr̥jāyā* 'brother's wife,' Ur., Bang. *bhāūja*, Hindī *bhāīj*, *bhāvaj*, *bhāujī*, *bhōjāī*, Sindhī *bhōjāī*, Mar. *bhāvajāī*. Skt. *bhrātr̥ja* 'nephew,' Hindī, Panj., Guj. *bhatījā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Gab. *jan*, *yan(ūk)*, Sīv. *žin*, Zaf. *žan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *jan*, *jin*, *yan*, *žan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *žanikō*, Šīyn. *γin*, Sarq. *γin*, *žin*, Minj. *žinga*, Afγ. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, *jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *žin*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *jainti* 'kills,' Old Pers. *ajanam*, Phl. *zanēt*, New Pers.

zanad, Zaf. *bažint*, Kāš. *jīdan*, Kuhr. *jindamān*, Šiyn. *zīnam*, Sarq. *zanam*, Afy. *žanam*, Bal. *janag*, Kurd. *zanin*. Old Pers. *bāji* 'tribute,' New Pers. *bāj*, *bāz*, *bāž*. Phl. *barējan* 'oven,' New Pers. *barējan*, Bal. *brijag*, *brējag*.

$j > gh, \gamma$.

§ 179. The change of *j* to *gh, \gamma*, is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Šiyn. *γin*, Sarq. *γin*, *žin*, etc. (see preceding §).

$j > c$.

§ 180. The change of the media *j* to the tenuis *c* is regular in Pāisācī Prākrit according to the well-known rule of this dialect that all mediae or mediae aspiratae become tenues or tenues aspiratae. Elsewhere the change is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, Pāis. Prāk. *rācā*, Pāli *rājā*, New Ind. dialects *rāū*, *rāv*, except Sinh. *raḍa*, Maladive *radung*, Gyp. *ray*. Skt. *vrajati* 'wanders,' Prāk. *vaccaī*, Pāli *vajati*. Skt. *kambōja* 'Cambodia,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhaulī) *kambōca*.

$j > jh$.

§ 181. The aspirization of an original *j* is a phenomenon of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *jaṅgala* 'wild,' Old Hindī *jaṅgar*, New Ind. dialects *jaṅgalī*, except Ass. *jaṅghal*, Sindhī *jhaṅgalī*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *jana* 'person,' Bang. (Malda) *jhan*, Gyp. *jenō*.

$j > d$.

§ 182. The change of *j* to *d* is not uncommon in the Middle Indian dialects, and it is the regular change to which an original *j* is subject in Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jihā*, *jibbhā*, Pāli *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kāśm. *zēō*, New Ind. dialects *jībh* (Sindhī *jībh*), Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *jugupsati*

‘despises,’ Prāk. *du(g)ucchāi*, *du(g)umchāi*, *jhuṇāi*, *juucchāi*, Pāli *jigucchati*. Skt. *tējas* ‘glory,’ Prāk. *tēu*, Māhār. Prāk. *tēya*, Pāli *tēja*, Sinh. *tēda*.

j > y.

§ 183. The change of *j* to *y* is in the Indian dialects only an apparent one, *y* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *j* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164). In the Iranian dialects an actual change of *j* to *y* is found, but it is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* ‘king,’ Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *samaja* ‘herd,’ Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *samaya*. Skt. *gaja* ‘elephant,’ Prāk. *gaya*, *gaa*, Pāli *gaja*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* ‘woman,’ Gab. *yan(āh)*, *jan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *yan*, *jan*, *jin*, *žan*, Nāy. *yanah*, etc. (see § 178).

j > v.

§ 184. The change of *j* to *v*, like that of *j* to *y* in the Indian dialects, is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *j* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājānah* ‘of a king,’ Prāk. *rāāṇō*, Śāk. Prāk. *lāvāṇō* (cf. also § 180). [See now Pischel, §§ 399–400.]

j > z.

§ 185. In the Iranian dialects the change of *j* to *z* is very frequent. In the Indian dialects, however, it is only in the North East, particularly in Assamese, Kaśmīrī, vulgar Bangālī (Rājbañśī and Eastern), and Bihārī, that *j* is pronounced *z*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* ‘tongue,’ Kaśm. *zēō*, etc. (see § 182). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *jala* ‘water,’ Ass., Kaśm., vulgar Bang., Bihārī *jal* (pron. *zal*), Sindhī *jaru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jvaiti* ‘lives,’ Old Pers. *jivāhy*, Phl. *zīvas-tanō*, New Pers. *zīstan*, Kāš. *vazandō*, *jiga*, Afy. *žvand(ūn)*,

Kurd. *zīn*, *zīin*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, etc. (see § 178). Kurd. *vējār* 'this time,' Bohtanī *vēzār*. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *zufar*, *zafr*, New Pers. *zarf*, Judaeo-Pers. *zōrf*, Afy. *žavar*, Bal. *juhl*, N. Bal. *jahl*, Kurd. *žōr*, Zaza *jōr*.

j > *ž*.

§ 186. The change of *j* to *ž*, which is closely akin to the one discussed in the preceding paragraph, is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Sīv. *žin*, Zaf. *žan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *žan*, *jan*, *jin*, *yan*, Samn. *žanikō*, Sarq. *žin*, *γīn*, Minj. *žinga*, Kurd. *žin*, etc. (see § 178). Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Afy. *žvand(ūn)*, Kurd. *zīin*, *zīn*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *jafra* 'deep,' New Pers. *zarf*, Afy. *žavar*, Kurd. *žōr*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *drājah* 'length,' Phl., Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāž*, Kurd. *diržž*.

Syncope of j.

§ 187. The loss of an original intervocalic *j* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, New Ind. dialects *rāū*, *rāv*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viana*, Hindī *bēnā*. Skt., Pāli *ajagara* 'boa-constrictor,' Mar. *ār*.

jh = *jh*.

§ 188. Original *jh* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects, and it is lacking altogether in the Iranian languages. In the majority of instances in the Indian dialects original *jh* is preserved unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *jhampa* 'leap,' Mar. *jhēmp*.

jh > *j*.

§ 189. The deaspirization of *jh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jhalla* 'name of a degraded caste,' Jaina Prāk. *jalla*.

jh > *z*.

§ 190. In Assamese an original *jh* is written *j*, which is pronounced *z* (cf. § 185). Similarly the resultant *jh* of the Kaśmīrī is pronounced *z*.

a. Indian. Ass. *jāl* 'pungency' (pron. *zal*), Bang. *jhaluyā*, Hindī *jhāl*.

ṭ = *t*.

§ 191. All cases in which cerebral letters are concerned are confined to the Indian dialects. Indian *ṭ* is preserved unchanged in the great majority of instances.

a. Indian. Skt. *truṭati* 'comes apart,' Prāk. *tuṭṭai*, *tōḍai*, U_r. *tōḍanā*, Bang. *tōḍāitē*, Sindhī *tōḍanu*, Guj. *tuṭavun*, *tōḍavun*, Mar. *tuṭanēm*, *tōḍanēm*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Prāk. *kapāṭa*, U_r., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*. Skt. *√c(h)uṭ* 'to cut off,' New Ind. dialects *√chuṭ*, but also Hindī *chōṛ*, Mar. *suṭ*, *sōḍ*.

ṭ > *ḍ*.

§ 192. The change of the tenuis *ṭ* to the media *ḍ* is the most frequent one to which Indian *ṭ* is subject. In the East New Indian dialects *ḍ* often interchanges with *ṛ* and this *ṛ* itself may further develop into *r*. No distinction is here made between *ḍ* and *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṭavī* 'forest,' Apab. Prāk. *aḍai*, Pāli *aṭavī*. Skt. *bhaṭa* 'soldier,' Prāk. *bhaḍa*, Apab. *bhaḍu*, Pāli *bhaṭa*. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prāk. *ghaḍa*, Pāli *ghaṭa*, Hindī *ghaḍā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍī*. Skt. *kṛta* 'worm,' Prāk. *kṛḍa*, Pāli *kṛṭa*, U_r., Bang., Hindī *kṛḍā*, Sindhī *kṛḍō*, Guj. *kṛḍō*, Mar. *kṛḍ*, *kṛḍā*, Gyp. *kirī*. Skt., Pāli *kaṭāha* 'pan,' U_r. *karaṛ*, *kahrār*, *kaḍhēi*, Bang. *kaḍ(āi)*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kaḍāhī*, Guj. *kaḍhā*, *kaḍhaī*, Simh. *kulāva*.

ṭ > *ḍh*.

§ 193. The rare change of *ṭ* to *ḍh* seems to occur more often in the Middle than in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saṭā* 'mane,' Prāk. *saḍhā*. Skt. *śakaṭikā*

'cart,' Prāk. *sayadhā*, Śaur. Prāk. *saadhā*, Pāli *sakāṭa*. Skt. *kāṭabha* 'name of a demon,' Prāk. *kēdhava*. Skt. *akṣapāṭa* 'arena,' E. Hindī *akhārḥ*, Hindī *akhārā*, Mar. *akhādā*.

$\ddot{t} > t$.

§ 194. The decerebralization of Indian \ddot{t} to t occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭumbaka* 'house-holder,' Pāis. Prāk. *kutumbaka*, *kuṭumbaka*, Pāli *kuṭumbaka*, *kuṭimbaka*.

$\ddot{t} > p$.

§ 195. The change of \ddot{t} to p is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karōṭi* 'pot,' Pāli *kalōpi*.

$\ddot{t} > r$.

§ 196. The change of \ddot{t} to r (cf. § 192) is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Ur. *karāi*, *kahrāi*, *kadhēi*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēṭa* 'servant,' Panj. *cērā*, *cēlā*, etc. (see following §).

$\ddot{t} > l$.

§ 197. The change of \ddot{t} to l is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* 'crystal,' Prāk. *phalika*, *phadiha*, *phadia*, Pāli *phalika*. Skt. *karkaṭaka* 'crab,' Jaina Prāk. *kakkaḍa*, Pāli *kakkaṭaka*, Sinh. *kakuluvā*, *kakuluvā*. Skt. *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Sinh. *kulāva*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēṭa* 'servant,' Prāk. *cēḍa*, Pāli *cēṭaka*, Ur., Bang. *cēlā*, Hindī *cēlā*, *cēḍā*, Panj. *cēlā*, *cērā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cēlō*, Mar. *cēlā*.

$\ddot{t} > \underline{l}$.

§ 198. The change of \ddot{t} to \underline{l} occurs especially in Sinhalese, where l and \underline{l} are used indiscriminately, although the Maladive distinguishes sharply between l and \underline{l} .

a. Indian. Skt. *kūṭa* 'peak,' Prāk. *kūḍa*, Pāli *kūṭa*, Sinh. *kulu*. Skt. *sphōṭati* 'bursts forth,' Prāk. *phuṭṭai*, *phuḍai*, Pāli

phut̥ati, Hindī *phūṭ̥*, Panj. *phutt̥*, other New Ind. dialects *phut̥*, except Sinh. *poḷanavā*.

ṭh = *ṭh*.

§ 199. The retention of *ṭh* without change is very rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *maṭha* 'college,' Prāk. *maḍha*, Mar. (dimin.) *maḍhī*, other New Ind. dialects *maṭh*.

ṭh > *t*.

§ 200. The deaspirization of *ṭh* is very rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kūṭhārī* 'axe,' Prāk. *kuḍhāra*, Pāli *kūṭhārī*, Ur. *kuṭārī*, *kuhrari*, *kuṭāḍī*, Bang. *kurhīd*, *kurhāḍī*, Bihārī, Hindī *kulhārī*, *kuhāḍā*, Panj. *kuhāḍā*, *kuṁllhārā*, *kulhāḍā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kuhārō*, Mar. *kurhāī*, *kurhār*.

ṭh > *ḍ*.

§ 201. The change of *ṭh* to *ḍ* is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prāk. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Pāli *pīṭha*, Bang. *piṁdā*, Hindī, Panj. *pīḍhā*, Sindhī *pēḍahī*, Guj. *pēḍhī*, Mar. *pūṭ̥*. Skt. *paṭhana* 'reading,' Ur. *paḍhibā*, Bang. *paḍhitē*, Hindī, Panj. *paḍhanā*, Sindhī *paḍahanu*, Guj. *paḍharuṁ*, Mar. *paḍhanēm*.

ṭh > *ḍh*.

§ 202. The change of *ṭh* to *ḍh* is the most common one of all those to which Indian *ṭh* is subject. It is especially characteristic of the Western dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prāk. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Hindī, Panj. *pīḍhā*, Guj. *pēḍhī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kūṭhārī* 'axe,' Prāk. *kuḍhāra*, Bang. *kurhīd*, *kurhāḍī*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' Prāk. *paḍhāī*, Pāli *paṭhati*, Ass. ✓ *parh*, Bang. *par*, New Ind. dialects *paḍh*, *parh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*.

ṭh > ṛh, rh.

§ 203. The change of *ṭh* to *ṛh*, *rh*, is especially characteristic of the Eastern dialects, while the Western dialects, as noted in the preceding paragraph, tend to the change of *ṭh* to *ḍh*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bang. *kuṛhād*, *kuṛhādī*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' New Ind. dialects *parh*, *paḍh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṭh > ll.

§ 204. The change of *ṭh* to *ll* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṅkōṭha*, *aṅkōl(ḷ)a* 'name of a tree,' Prāk. *aṅkolla*, Pāli *aṅkōla*, Guj., Mar. *aṅkōl*.

ṭh > lh.

§ 205. The change of *ṭh* to *lh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindī *kulhārī*, *kuhādā*, Panj. *kulhādā*, *kumlhārā*, *kuhādā*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *kuṭhara* 'sugar-mill,' Māg. Prāk. *kuḍhalē*, Bihārī *kōlhū*.

ṭh > h.

§ 206. The change of *ṭh* to *h* is one of extreme rarity in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindī *kuhādā*, *kulhārī*, Panj. *kuhādā*, *kulhādā*, *kumlhārā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kuhārō*, etc. (see § 200).

ṭh > hr.

§ 207. The change of *ṭh* to *hr* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Uṛ. *kuhrārī*, *kuṭādī*, *kuṭārī*, etc. (see § 200).

ḍ = ḍ.

§ 208. Indian *ḍ* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pṛḍana* 'pressure,' Prāk. *pīḷana*, *pellana*, Pāli *pīḷana*, Hindī *pēḍanā*, *pēlanā*, Panj. *pīḍhanā*, *pēḷanā*, *vēḷanā*, Sindhī *pīḷanu*, *pīṛanu*, Mar. *pīḷanēm*.

$\check{d} > t$.

§ 209. The change of \check{d} to t occurs regularly in the Pāīśācī Prākṛit.

a. Indian. Skt. *vaḍiśa*, *baḍiśa* 'fish-hook,' Prāk. *baḍisa*, *balisa*, Pāīś. Prāk. *vaṭisa*, Pāli *balisa*, Hindī *balia*.

$\check{d} > \bar{d}$.

§ 210. The decerebralization of Indian \check{d} occurs very rarely in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. \check{d} ap 'to collect,' Ur. *dabibā*, Bang. *dābana*, Hindī *dābanā*, *dabāv*, *dabēl*, Panj. *dabbaṇā*, Sindhī *dabaṇu*, Guj. *dābavun*, Mar. *dabaṇēm*.

$\check{d} > \check{r}, r$.

§ 211. The change of \check{d} to \check{r}, r , is particularly characteristic of the East New Indian dialects. Such an \check{r} developed from an original \check{d} may often become r , and indeed in Hindī \check{r} and r are interchangeable. In the West New Indian dialects, however, \check{d} is generally retained unchanged, and it seldom becomes \check{r}, r (cf. §§ 202, 203).

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Sindhī *pīraṇu*, *pīḍaṇu*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḍupa* 'boat,' Pāli *ulumpa*, Siinh. *oru(va)*, Maladive *oḍi*.

$\check{d} > l$.

§ 212. The change of \check{d} to l is one of the most frequent of all those to which Indian \check{d} is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *dāḍima*, *dālīma*, Prāk. *dālīma*, Pāli *dālīma*, Hindī *dārim*, Sindhī *dārham*. Skt. *krīḍati* 'plays,' Prāk. *kīlāi*, Apab. Prāk. *kīladi*, Pāli *kīlati*. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōlaha*, Jaina Prāk. *sōlasa*, Pāli *sōlasa*, *sōraha*, Kaśm. *surāh*, Ur. *sōhala*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhī *sōraham*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*.

$\check{d} > \underline{l}$.

§ 213. The change of \check{d} to \underline{l} , which is closely akin to the change discussed in the preceding paragraph, occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pṛḍana* 'pressure,' Mar. *pīlaṇēm*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḍupa* 'boat,' Pāli *uḷumpa*, etc. (see § 211). Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Apab. Prāk. *kōlaiū*, Guj. *kōlō*. Skt. *ṣōḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *solaha*, Jaina Prāk. *solasa*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, Panj. *sōlām*, Guj. *sōḷ*, Mar. *sōlā*, etc. (see preceding §).

ḍh > *rh*.

§ 214. The change of *ḍh* to *rh* is quite common in the New Indian dialects, especially in the Eastern languages (cf. §§ 202, 203, 211).

a. Indian. Skt. *mūḍha* 'fool,' New Ind. dialects (except Bang., Mar.) *mārhu*.

ḍh > *r*.

§ 215. The change of *ḍh* to *r* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūḍhatva* 'folly,' Prāk. *mūḍhattaṇa*, Hindī *mūrakhapan*, Panj. *mūrakhapūṇā*.

ḍh > *l*, *lh*.

§ 216. The change of *ḍh* to *l*, *lh*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udvōḍha* 'bridegroom,' Bang. *dulīn*, *dulāī*, Hindī *dulhā*. Skt. *udūḍhā* 'bride,' Hindī *dulhīn*, Guj. *dulāhī*.

ḍh > *l*, *lh*.

§ 217. The change of *ḍh* to *l*, *lh*, is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *drḍha* 'firm,' Prāk. *dadha*, Pāli *dalha*, Sinh. *dala*.

ṇ > *n*.

§ 218. The change of *ṇ* to *n* is not frequent in the Indian dialects, excepting in the Pāīśācī Prākṛit, where it occurs regularly.

a. Indian. Skt. *guṇaganayukta* 'equipped with a host of virtues,' Pāīś. Prāk. *gunaganajutta*. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *b(r)amana*, lit. Prāk. *bāñhana*, Māhār. Prāk. *bambhana*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*.

ṇ > *l*, *l*.

§ 219. The change of *ṇ* to *l*, *l*, is excessively rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāṇija* 'merchant,' Prāk. *vāṇi(j)a*, Sinh. *velāṇḍā*, *veṇaṇḍa*.

$$t = t.$$

§ 220. Indo-Iranian *t* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting for the Iranian spirantization of *t* to *θ* before consonants.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *tuṇḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōm̐th*, *ṭhōr*, Hindī, Panj. *tōṁḍ*, Guj. *duṇḍ*, Mar. *tōṁḍā*, *tumḍ*, *tund*, *dōṁḍ*. Skt. *jyōti* 'light,' Pāli *jōti*, Hindī *jōt(i)*, Panj. *jōtanā*, Sindhī *jōt(i)*, Guj. *jōt*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prāk. *udu* (Śāur. and Māg.), *uu*, *riu*, Pāli *utu*, Sindhī *rutī*, Guj. *rut(u)*, Mar. *rutū*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *rautah* 'river,' Phl. *rōt*, New Pers. *rōd*, Bal. *rōt*, Kurd. *rō*. Av. *tanu* 'body,' Phl., New Pers. *tan*, Wāxī *tan*, Šiyn. *tana*, Afy. *tan*, Oss. *thanag*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Gab. *tašna*, Wāxī *tax(i)*, Šiyn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*. Av. *paitidita* 'seen,' Phl. *dītō*, New Pers. *dīdah*, Bal. *dīta*, Kurd. *dīt*.

$$t > i.$$

§ 221. The vocalization of Indo-Iranian *t* is very rare. The stages in this development were probably *t* to *d*, to *ḍ*, to *i*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *kaṭak*, New Pers. *kadah*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kiyah*, Vōn. *kē*, Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxī *kat*, Šiyn. *čīd*, Sarq. *cīd*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*, Yayn. *kat*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brātar*, *brāt*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kāš. *barāi*, *barō*, Gil. *brār*, Wāxī *vrūt*, Šiyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yayn. *virāt*, Afy. *vrōr*, Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāθ*, Kurd. *barā*, *virād*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vīst*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*.

$$t > g.$$

§ 222. The change of *t* to *g* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *atarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ātaš*, New Pers. *(ā)taš*, *ātiš*,

Gab. *taš*, Šīyn. *yāč*, Sarq. *yuč*, N. Bal. *āc*, Kurd. *agir*, *ār*, *ēr*, Zaza *ādir*.

$t > c$.

§ 223. The change of *t* to *c* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiṣṭhati* 'stands,' Prāk. *ciṭṭhadi*, *ciṭṭhai*, *ṭhāi* (cf. also *ciṭṭhitu* 'let him stand,' inscriptions of Dhauli), Pāli *tiṭṭhati*, *ṭhāti*, Ur. *cidā*, *thāē*, Hindī, Panj. *thē*, Sindhī *thiē*, Guj. *thāy*, Mar. *thēṇēn*.

[Here we may perhaps note the change of *t* to *č* in Kaśmīrī under the influence of a following *i* in the formation of the feminine, e.g., Kaśm. *mot* 'foolish,' fem. *müč* < **moti*.]

$t > ṭ$.

§ 224. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *t* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects. It is especially common in Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *tilaka* 'sectarial mark,' Ur., Bang. *ṭika*, Hindī *ṭikā*, Panj. *ṭikkā*, Sindhī *ṭikō*, Guj. *ṭilu*, *ṭilī*, *ṭilō*, Mar. *ṭikā*, *ṭilā*. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paṭi*, *paḍi*, Pāli *paṭi*. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prāk. *tamba*, *tambira*, Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, Ur., Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmbā*, *tāmā*, Sindhī *ṭāmō*, Guj. *tāmbu*, *trāmbum*, Mar. *tāmbēm*, Simh. *tāmbara*.

$t > ṭh$.

§ 225. The change of *t* to *ṭh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuṇḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōmṭh*, *ṭhōr*, etc. (see § 220). Skt. *vṛtti* 'business,' Prāk. *vattī*, Sindhī *vaṭhi*.

$t > ḍ$.

§ 226. The change of *t* to *ḍ* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, being much more common than the change of *t* to *ṭ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *patati* 'falls,' Prāk. *paḍaṭi*, Pāli *patati*, Ur. *paḍikā*, Bang. *paḍaṇā*, Hindī *paraṇā*, Sindhī *pavaṇu*, Guj. *paḍavum*, Mar. *paḍaṇēm*, *paraṇēm*, Gyp. ✓ *per*. Skt. *patākā* 'banner,' Prāk. *paḍāyā*, Jaina Prāk. *paḍāgā*, Pāli *patākā*. Skt. *takṣan* 'carpenter,' Sindhī *ḍakhaṇu*.

t > th, θ.

§ 227. The change of *t* to *th, θ*, is rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, apart from the change of *t* to *θ* according to the Iranian law of spirantization and excepting *th* developed from *t* in North Balūcī and Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *tr̥pyati* 'rejoices,' Prāk. *thippaṛ*. Skt. *āpāta* 'path,' Pāli *āpātha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tāpayeiti* 'warms,' Phl. *tāftanō*, New Pers. *tābad*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tōvūn*, Wāxī *θavam*, Šīyn. *tabam*, Sarq. *θavam*, Afγ. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thap*, *thaf*, Kurd. *tāv*, Dig. Oss. *thaft*, Tag. *thavin*. Av. *tərəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarsītanō*, New Pers. *tarsīdan*, Afγ. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *tursay*, *trusag*, N. Bal. *thursay*, Kurd. *tirsin*, Dig. Oss. *tharsun*, Tag. *tharsin*. Av., Old Pers. *dāta* 'law,' Phl. *dāt*, New Pers. *dād*, Bal. *dāta*, N. Bal. *dātha*, *dāsā*. Av. *brātar* 'brother,' N. Bal. *brāθ*, *brās*, etc. (see § 221).

t > d.

§ 228. The change of the tenuis *t* to the media *d* is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tataḥ* 'thence,' Māhār. Prāk. *tattō*, Śāur. Prāk. *tadō*, Apab. Prāk. *daü*, Pāli *tatō*. Skt. *tāvat* 'so long,' Śāur. Prāk. *dāva*, Pāli *tāva*. Skt. *gata* 'gone,' Śāur., Māg. Prāk. *gadē*, Pāis. Prāk. *gata*, Apab. Prāk. *gadu*, Pāli *gata*, Sinh. *giya*, Gyp. *gelo*. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Māg. Prāk. *kadē*, *kaḍē*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śākārī Prāk. *kala*, Pāis. Prāk. *kata*, Apab. Prāk. *kidu*, Pāli *kata*, *kaṭa*, Old Hindī *kīya*, Bihārī *kaīl*, *kāil*, *kayal*, Sindhī *kiō*. Skt. *uta* 'or,' Prāk. *ua*, Pāli *uda*. Skt. *tē* 'of thee,' Prāk. *dē*, *tē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vad*, Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vad*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt *vār*, Afγ. *vō*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, Oss. *vād*. Av. *brātar* 'brother,' New Pers. *birādar*, Šīyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vṛōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Kurd. *virād*, *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*, etc. (see § 221). Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl.

vēt, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vīd*, Sīv. *vī*, Zaf. *vē*, Vön. *vīd*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Afγ. *vala*, Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vī*, *bī*. Av. *tava* 'of thee,' New Pers. *tū*, Afγ. *ta*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*.

t > y.

§ 229. The change of *t* to *y* in the Indo-Iranian dialects is only an apparent one, *y* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an intervocalic *t* (see §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183).

a. Indian. Skt. *itara* 'other,' Prāk. *iara*, Māhār. Prāk. *iyara*. Skt. *kātara* 'coward,' Apab. Prāk. *kāyaru*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Guj. *kāyar*, Mar. *kāvarā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *māt(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab., Sīv. *māya*, Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vön. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gīl. *māar*, *mōr*, Tāl. *mū*, Tāt *mōi*, Šīyn. *mad*, Minj. *māyā*. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *piť(ar)*, New Pers. *pidar*, Gab. *par*, Kāš. *pai*, Nāy. *pi*, *payi*, Šīyn. *pad*, Sarq. *pit*, Afγ. *plār*, Bal. *pīt*, N. Bal. *phis*, *phiθ*, Dig. Oss. *fida*, Tag. *fid*.

t > r.

§ 230. The change of *t* to *r* (in the Indian dialects through the transition-grades *d*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptati* 'seventy,' Prāk., Pāli *sattari*, Nāip. *sattari*, Kāsm. *satat*, Ur. *sattōri*, Bang., Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *sattar*, Sindhī *satari*, Guj. *sitēr*, Mar. *sattar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Tāt *vār*, etc. (see § 228).

t > l.

§ 231. The change of *t* to *l* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Afγān, where *t* regularly becomes *l*, unless the *t* is protected by a voiceless consonant.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Ardhamāg., Avant., Śākārī Prāk. *kala*, Bihārī *kāil*, *kāil*, *kayal* (similarly in all perf. part. in Bihārī), etc. (see § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *pitar* 'father,' Afγ. *plār*, etc. (see § 229). Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Afγ. *vala*, etc. (see § 228).

$t > v$.

§ 232. The change of t to v is only apparent, v being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an inter-vocalic t (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātapa* 'sunshine,' Pāli *ātāpa*, Sinh. *av(u)va*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prāk. *māā*, Pāli *mātar*, Hindī *mā(ī)*, *māū*, Panj. *māū*, *māūm*, *māūhu*, *mā(ī)*, Sindhī *māū*, Elu *mava*, Sinh. *mar(u)*, *mā*.

$t > s$.

§ 233. The change of t to s is excessively rare, excepting in Sinhalese and North Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prāk. *c(h)uccha*, Pāli *tuccha*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dāta* 'law,' N. Bal. *dāsā*, *dāθa*, etc. (see § 227). Av. *brātar* 'brother,' N. Bal. *brās*, *brāθ*, etc. (see § 221).

$t > h$.

§ 234. The change of t to h is very rare, excepting in Sinhalese, where the h is a further development of the s arising from an original t (see preceding §).

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prāk. *c(h)uccha*, Pāli *tuccha*, Sinh. *his*, *sis*.

Syncope of t.

§ 235. The loss of Indo-Iranian t is quite frequent both in the Middle and in the New periods of the Indo-Iranian languages. The syncope occurs more often in the Middle than in the New Indian dialects, and more commonly in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *caūttha*, *caūtt̥ha*, *cottha*, Ur. *cāud̥ha*, Bang. *cāudā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāum̐thā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *saa*, *saya*, Pāli. Prāk. *sata*, Pāli *sata*, Kāśm. *hath*, Ur. *śaē*, Bang.

śaya, Bihārī *sāu*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēm*, *śambhar*. Skt. *pitar* 'father,' Prāk. *piā*, Pāli *pitar*, Hindī *piu*, Panj. *piū*, Sindhī *piu*, Sinh. *piya*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prāk. *māā*, Hindī *mā(ī)*, *māū*, Panj. *māū*, *māūm*, *māūnu*, *mā(ī)*, Sindhī *māū*, Sinh. *mā*, *mar(u)*, etc. (see § 232).

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vōn. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gīl. *māar*, *mōr*, Tāl. *mū*, Tāt *mōi*, etc. (see § 229). Skt. *jūta* 'swift,' Phl. *zūt*, New Pers. *zūd*, Māz. *zī*, Tāl. Tāt *zū*, Bal. *zūt*, *zīt*, N. Bal. *zīθ*, Kurd. *zū*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Māz. *vā*, Afy. *vō*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, etc. (see § 228).

Epenthesis of t.

§ 236. Epenthetic *t* is an extremely rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *ašl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. (*h*)*istīr*, *asr*.

th = th.

§ 237. Indo-Iranian *th* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *mathana* 'churning,' Bang. *mathana*, *māthā*, Hindī *mathanā*, *mahanā*, *maṭhā*, Sindhī *mathaṇu*, Guj. *mathavun*, *maṭhō*, Mar. *ma(n)thaṇēm*, *māthan*. Skt. *yūtha* 'herd,' Māhār. Prāk. *jūha*, Pāli *yūtha*, Hindī *jūth*, *jathā*, Panj. *jūh*, Guj. *jathō*, Mar. *jathaṇēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahan*, New Pers. *pahn*, Kāš. *pēn*, *pahan*, *pan*, Afy. *plan*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, Kāš. *gūs*, Wāxī *gū*, *gī*, Šīyn. *γαθ*, Yayn. *yūt(ah)*, Afy. *γul*, N. Bal. *gīθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Av. *fraθanjayeiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *tajēnag*, Dig. Oss. *ithinjun*, Tag. *thinjin*.

th > th.

§ 238. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *th* occurs rarely in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paḍhama*, Pāli *paṭhama*, Ass. *pōnar*, Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindī, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhī *paharyōm*, *pihir(y)ōm*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, *pēhalum*, Mar. *pahilā*, Sinh. *paḷamu*.

th > ḍh.

§ 239. The change of *th* to *ḍh* is more frequent in the Indian dialects than the simple cerebralization of an original *th*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīthila* 'slack,' Prāk. *siḍhila*, Pāli *sithila*, *saṭhila*, U_r. *ḍhīlā*, Bang. *ḍhīlā*, Hindī *dhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhillā*, Sindhī *ḍhilō*, *ḍhirō*, Guj. *ḍhīlum*, Mar. *ḍhilā*. Skt. *mēṭhi* 'post,' Prāk. *mēḍhi*, Mar. *mēḍhī*, *mēḍhā*.

th > t.

§ 240. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *th* is excessively rare, except in Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *kathā* 'tale,' Bang. (Burdwan) *katā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *fraθanjayeiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *tajēnag*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *maēθana* 'abode,' Phl., New Pers. *mēhan*, Bal. *mētag*.

th > dh.

§ 241. The change of *th* to *dh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *atha* 'thus,' Śāur., Pāis. Prāk. *adha*, Pāli *atha*. Skt. *tathā* 'so,' Śāur. Prāk. *tadhā*, Pāli *tathā*. Skt. *vyathayati* 'trembles,' Pāli *vēdhati*.

th > y.

§ 242. The insertion of *y* to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original intervocalic *th* is exceedingly rare (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183, 229).

a. Indian. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prāk. *rahu*, Pāli *ratha*, Sinh. *riya*.

th > *l*.

§ 243. The change of *th* to *l* is excessively rare, excepting in Afyān.

b. Iranian. Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Afy. *plan*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Afy. *γul*, etc. (see § 237).

th > *l*.

§ 244. The change of *th* to *l* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Sinh. *paḷamu*, etc. (see § 238).

th > *h*.

§ 245. The change of *th* to *h* is by far the most frequent one of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *th* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *athavā* 'or,' Prāk. *ahavā*, Apab. *ahavaṛ*, inscriptions of Girnar, Dhauli, and Khāsi *ahō*, Pāli *athavā*. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prāk. *rahu*, etc. (see § 242). Skt. *kathana* 'speech,' Prāk. *kahana*, Pāli *kathana*, Ur. *kahibā*, Bang. *kahitē*, Hindī *kahanā*, Panj. *kahinā*, Sindhī *kahanu*, Guj. *kēhavun*. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindī, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhī *paharyōm*, *pihir(y)ōm*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, *pēhalun*, Mar. *pahilā*, etc. (see § 238). Skt. *gāthā* 'song,' Prāk. *gāhā*, Pāli *gāthā*, Old Hindī *gāhā*, Sindhī *gāi*. Skt. *prth(i)vī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puhavī*, *puhuvī*, *puḍhavī*, Pāli *pathavī*, *puthavī*, *puthuvī*, *paṭhavī*, Old Hindī *puhumi*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maēθana* 'abode,' Phl., New Pers. *mēhan*, etc. (see § 240). Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahan*, New Pers. *pahn*, Kāš. *pahan*, *pan*, *pēn*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gaēθanqm* 'of creatures,' Phl., New Pers. *gēhān*.

d = *d*.

§ 246. Indo-Iranian *d* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prāk. *dasa*, Śāur. Prāk. *daha*,

Pāli *dasa*, Kāśm. *daha*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *das*, Panj. *das*, *dah*, Sindhī *ḍah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahā*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Pāli *dasati*, Ur. *damkibā*, *damś*, Bang. *damś*, *ḍamś(ā)*, Hindī *damś(ak)*, *ḍāmik*, Sindhī *ḍamgaṇu*, Mar. *damś*, *ḍāmcaṇēm*, *dam-khaṇēm*, *ḍasaṇēm*. Skt. *yadī* 'if,' Prāk. *jaṛ*, Jaina Prāk. *jati*, Pāli *yadī*, Hindī *jad*, *jē*, *jō*, Panj., Sindhī *jē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andīmānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Šir., Zaf., Kāš. *dīm*, Kuhr. *dīm*, *düm*, Afy. *lēma*. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Wāxī *dündük*, Šiyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *dhanthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Oss. *dandag*. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pār*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxī *pūd*, Šiyn. *pād*, Sarq. *paδ*, Sangl. *pud*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yaṇ. *puda*, Afy. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*, Zaza *pai*.

$d > i$.

§ 247. The vocalization of Indo-Iranian *d* through the transition-grade *ḍ* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pār*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Zaza *pai*, etc. (see preceding §).

$d > kh, x$.

§ 248. The change of *d* to *kh, x*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Iran. **ni* + \sqrt{dub} 'to hide,' New Pers. *nihuftan*, Kurd. *nixiftin* (very doubtful).

$d > g$.

§ 249. The change of *d* to *g* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadṛghna* 'good for leprosy,' Pāli *gaddūhana* (the change of *d* to *g* in this word is due to dissimilation from the second *d* and assimilation to the following *gh*).

$d > jh$.

§ 250. The change of *d* to *jh* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *dhū(y)ā*, Śāur. Prāk.

dhūdā, *dhīdā*, Pāli *dhītā*, *dhītara*, Ass. *jī*, Ur. *jhia*, Bang. *jhī*, Hindī, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhī *dhīu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dhī(yā)*.

d > ḍ.

§ 251. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *d* is found quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dahati* 'burns,' Prāk. *ḍahaī*, Pāli *ḍahati*, Hindī *ḍāh*, *dāh*, Sindhī *ḍah*. Skt. **hṛdaka* 'hearty,' Māg. Prāk. *haḍakka*. Skt. *dūta* 'messenger,' Jaina Prāk. *ḍūya*, Pāli *dūta*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Bang. *ḍamś(ā)*, *damś*, Hindī *ḍāṇik*, *damś(ak)*, Sindhī *ḍaṇgaṇu*, Mar. *ḍāṇcaṇēm*, *ḍasaṇēm*, *ḍamkha-ṇēm*, *damś*, etc. (see § 246). Skt. *pravāda* 'narrative,' Pāli *pavāda*, Hindī, Sindhī *pavār*, Guj. *pavād*, Mar. *pavādā*. Skt. *dōlā* 'swing,' Prāk. *ḍōlā*, Pāli *dōlā*, Bihārī *dōr*, *dōr*, Hindī *dōl(ā)*, *dōlī*, *dōl(ā)*, *dōlik*, Panj., Sindhī *dōlī*, Guj. *dōī*, *dōlavum*, Mar. *dōlā*, *dōlī*, *dōlā*, *dōlī*, Anglo-Ind. *dooly*.

d > t.

§ 252. The change of the voiced *d* to the voiceless *t* is regular in the Pāisācī Prākrit, but elsewhere it is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *durgā* 'name of Parvatī,' Pāis. Prāk. *tukkā*. Skt. *pradēśa* 'district,' Pāis. Prāk. *patēsa*, Pāli *padēsa*. Skt. *yadi* 'if,' Jaina Prāk. *jati*, etc. (see § 246).

d > th.

§ 253. The change of *d* to *th* occurs very rarely in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *daḍaiti* 'gives,' Phl. *ḍaṭanō*, New Pers. *dādan*, Samn. *dam*, Māz. *hādia*, Gil. *fandi*, Tāl. *diah*, Wāxī *raḍān*, Šīyn. *ḍiam*, Sarq. *ḍām*, Afy. *lal*, Bal. *dēag*, N. Bal. *dēay*, Kurd. *dān*, Dig. Oss. *dadthun*, Tag. *daththin*. Av. *darəya* 'long,' Old Pers. *darga*, Afy. *lārya*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*, but Oss. *tharqus* 'hare' (lit. 'long-ear,' cf. New Pers. *darūzgōš* 'hare, donkey').

d > dh, ḍ.

§ 254. The aspirization of an original *d* is found both in the

Indian and in the Iranian dialects apart from the regular change in Iranian of *d* to *ḍ* before consonants.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *dhī(y)ā*, Śāur. Prāk. *dhādā*, *dhādā*, Pāli *dhītā*, *dhītara*, Hindī, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhī *dhiu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dhī(yā)*, etc. (see § 250). Skt. *ḍṛmḥita* 'firm,' Jāina Prāk. *dhāṇiya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasā* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxī *das*, *las*, Šiyn. *ḍīs*, *līs*, Sarq. *ḍēs*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yayn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Kurd. *dav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *dadaiti* 'gives,' Wāxī *radān*, Šiyn. *diam*, Sarq. *dām*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Wāxī *pūd*, Šiyn. *pād*, Sarq. *paḍ*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*, etc. (see § 246). Av. *xʷaēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *xʷēdē*, *xʷaī*, New Pers. *xʷai*, Wāxī *xil*, Sarq. *xaiḍ*, Afy. *xʷalē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēḍ*, Kurd. *xū*, *xōh*, *xoi*, Oss. *xad*.

d > *n*.

§ 255. The change of *d* to *n* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācdahum*, New Pers. *nuvāzdahum*, Afy. *nūnas*, *nūlas*, Dig. Oss. *naudas*, Tag. *nudas*.

d > *y*.

§ 256. The change of *d* to *y* is only apparent, the *y* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original intervocalic *d* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183, 229, 242). The phenomenon is much more infrequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khādita* 'eaten,' Prāk. *khāia*, Māhār. Prāk. *khāiya*, Pāli *khayita*, Panj. *khādhā*, Guj. *khādhō*, Mar. *khāllā*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hiaya*, *hīaa*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiāüm*, Sindhī *hinūmū*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. *(y)ilō*. Skt. *ādēśa* 'order,' Pāli *ādēsa*, Old Bihārī *āyēsu*, *āēsu*, *āyasu*, *āisu*. Skt. *pāda* 'foot,' Prāk. *pāa*, Māhār. Prāk. *pāda*, Hindī *pā(m)v*, Panj. *pā(m)v*, *pāüm*, Simh. *paya*, *piya*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' New Pers. *xāyad*, Kurd.

xān. Phl. *xadū(h)* 'saliva,' New Pers. *xayū*, *xadū*. New Pers. *bādām* 'almond,' Šīyn., Sarq. *vāyām*, Kurd. *bāhiv*, *baiv*.

$d > r$.

§ 257. The change of *d* to *r* is not a frequent one.

a. Indian. Skt. *tādṛśa* 'such,' Prāk. *tārisa*, Pāis. Prāk. *tātisa*, Pāli *tādisa*. Skt. *etādṛśa* 'such,' Māhār. Prāk. *ēyārisa*, *ēārisa*, Pāli *ērisa*, *ēdisa*. Skt. *gadgada* 'stammering,' Prāk. *gaggara*. Skt. *ekadaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha*, Pāli *ēkarasa*, *ekadasa*, Kaśm. *kāh*, Ur., Bang. *ēgāra*, Bihārī *egyārah*, Hindī *īgārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārām*, Sindhī *ikārahañ*, *yārahañ*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*.

$d > l$.

§ 258. The change of *d* to *l* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects, but it is very rare indeed in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Afyān.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadamba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *kalamba*. Skt. *pradīpta* 'kindled,' Prāk. *palīva*, *palitta*, Māhār. Prāk. *palīviya*, Jaina Prāk. *palitta*, Bihārī *palīt*. Skt. *dōhada*, *dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *dōhala*, *dōhala*, *dōhaḍa*, Pāli *dōhala*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasā* 'ten,' Wāxī *las*, *das*, Šīyn. *līs*, *ḍīs*, Yidg. *lus*, Afy. *las*, etc. (see § 254). Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Afy. *pal*, etc. (see § 246). Phl. *xʷatāi* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi*, Šīyn., Sarq. *qudā*, Kurd. *xadē*, *xudē*, Mukri *xola*. Av. *frazgaḍaiti* 'hastens forth,' Afy. *zyalī*.

$d > l$.

§ 259. The change of *d* to *l* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dōhada*, *dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *dōhala*, *dōhaḍa*, *dōhala*, Pāli *dōhala*.

$d > v$.

§ 260. The change of *d* to *v* is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original

intervocalic *d* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184, 232). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Prāk. *karalī*, *kayalī*, *kēlī*, Pāli *kadalī*, U_r., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kayalā*, *kēlā*, Sindhī *kayalā*, *kēlā*, dimin. *kēvidō*, Guj. *kēl*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, Sinh. *kehel*, *kesel*.

d > *h*.

§ 261. The change of *d* to *h* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Sinh. *kehel*, *kesel* (*s* by false analogy), etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *pādika* 'quarter,' U_r. *pāhī*, Bang. *pāī*, Hindī *pāī*, Anglo-Ind. *pie*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *bādām* 'almond,' Kurd. *bāhīv*, *baiv*, etc. (see § 256).

Syncope of d.

§ 262. The syncope of Indo-Iranian *d* is less frequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects. In Iranian the loss of *d* occurs especially in the Persian dialects and in Kurdish.

a. Indian. Skt. *nadī* 'river,' Prāk. *naī*, Pāli *nadī*, New Ind. dialects *nadī*, W. Bang. also *ladī*. Skt. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Prāk. *kēlī*, *kayalī*, *karalī*, U_r., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Sindhī *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Guj. *kēl*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, etc. (see § 260). Skt. *khādana* 'meal,' Prāk. *khāṇa*, Pāli *khādana*, U_r. *khāibā*, Bang. *khāitē*, Hindī *khānā*, Panj. *khāṇā*, Sindhī *khāṇu*, Guj. *khāvun*, Mar. *khāṇēm*. Skt. *śarad* 'autumn,' Prāk. *saraa*, Māhār. Prāk. *saraya*, Pāli *sarada*, Sindhī *saraū*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *nadāram* 'I have not,' Māz. *nārmah*, Gīl. *nāramah*, but *badām* 'I give.' Skt. *padika* 'traveller,' Phl. *paik*, New Pers. *paig* (cf. Māhār. Prāk. loan-word from New Pers. *pāikka*).

Epenthesis of d.

§ 263. The epenthesis of *d* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcadaśa* 'fifteen,' Prāk. *pañṇaraha*, Pāli *pañcadasa*, Kaśm. *pandāh*, Uṛ. *pandhar*, Bang. *pōnēra*, Bihārī *pandarāh*, Hindī *pañdrah*, Panj. *pañdarām*, Sindhī *pañdraham*, *pañdhrām*, Guj. *pañdar*, Mar. *pañdharā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dāna* 'grain,' Phl. *dānak*, New Pers. *dānah*, Sarq. *dāna*, Kurd. *dandak*, *dānakī*.

dh = *dh*.

§ 264. Indo-Iranian *dh* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Prāk., Pāli *dhavala*, Uṛ., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindī *dhāulā*, Sindhī *dhāunrō*, Guj. *dhōlun*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhaval*. Skt. *dhāvaka* 'washerman,' Uṛ., Bang. *dhōbā*, *dhōpā*, Hindī *dhōbō*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Māhār. Prāk. *khuhā*, Pāli *khudā*, Hindī *khudhā*, Panj. *khuddhiā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, New Pers. *bōi*, Gab. *būd*, Wāxī *vul*, Sarq. *bāo*, Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōd*, *bōz*, Oss. *bud*.

dh > *ḍ*.

§ 265. The change of *dh* to *ḍ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prāk. *ḍhiṭṭha*, *ḍhaṭṭha*, Nāip. *dhūmtō*, Hindī, Panj. *ḍhiṭh*, Sindhī *ḍiṭhu*.

dh > *ḍh*.

§ 266. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *dh* is not found very frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prāk. *ḍhiṭṭha*, *ḍhaṭṭha*, Hindī, Panj. *ḍhiṭh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *√dhakk* 'destroy,' Prāk. *ḍhakkā*, Uṛ. *ḍhakanā*, *dhāmkanā*, Bang. *ḍhakitē*, Hindī *ḍhakkā*, Panj. *dhakkā*, Sindhī *ḍhakanu*, *dhikō*, Guj. *ḍhāmkanavun*, Mar. *dhāmkanēn*.

dh > *t*.

§ 267. The change of *dh* to *t* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prāk. *dharaṣ*, Pāli *dhārēti*, Sinh. *terenavā*, *daraṇava*, Gyp. *√ther*.

dh > *d*.

§ 268. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *dh* is the most frequent change to which it is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dharmā* 'virtue,' Prāk., Pāli *dhamma*, Kaśm. *daram*, Elu *daham*, Siṃh. *dam*. Skt. *dhattūra* 'thorn-apple,' Kaśm. *dattur*, U_r. *dhuturā*, *dhudurā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dhattūrā*, Sindhī *dhātūrō*, Guj. *dhatūrō*, Mar. *dhatūrā*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Pāli *khudā*, etc. (see § 264). Skt. *madhu* 'mead,' Māhār. Prāk. *mahu*, Pāli *madhu*, Hindī *mad*, *madhu*, Sindhī *madu*, Mar. *madhu*, Gyp. *mōl*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhāmāti* 'blows,' Phl., New Pers. *dam*, Dig. Oss. *dumun*, Tag. *dīmīn*. Av. *baoiði* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, Gab. *būd*, Bal. *bōd*, Oss. *bud*, etc. (see § 264).

dh > *bh*.

§ 269. The change of *dh* to *bh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sāmnirundhati* 'impedes,' Pāli *sānnirunbhati*, *sānnirunbhati*.

dh > *y*.

§ 270. The change of *dh* to *y* is only apparent, *y* being really introduced to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *dh* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256). The phenomenon is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhura* 'sweet,' Māhār. Prāk. *mahura*, Pāli *madhura*, Siṃh. *miyuru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō*, Judaeo-Pers. *bayōg*, Kurd. *būk*. Av. *maðu* 'wine,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Oss. *mud*.

dh > *l*.

§ 271. The change of *dh* to *l* is quite rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *grhagōdhikā* 'lizard,' Pāli *gharagōlikā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baoiði* 'perfume,' Wāxī *vul*, etc. (see § 264).

dh > *v*.

§ 272. The change of *dh* to *v* is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of *dh* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184, 232, 260).

a. Indian. Skt. *tulādhāra* 'balance-holding,' Siñh. *tulavaru*.

dh > *h*.

§ 273. The change of *dh* to *h* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *āuśadhi* 'drug,' Prāk. *ōsaha*, *ōsaḍha*, Pāli *ōsadhi*. Skt. *sādhu* 'good,' Prāk. *sāhu*, Pāli *sādhu*, Bihārī *sāh*, Sindhī *sāū*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Pāli *badhira*, Uṛ. *bahirā*, Bang. *bahērā*, Hindī *bahirā*, Sindhī *bōrō*, *bōḍō*, Guj. *bēhērō*, Mar. *bahirā*, Siñh. *bihiri*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēñhu*, Nāip. *gāhuñ*, Uṛ. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindī *gō(n)huñ*, *gēhuñ*, *ghēuñ*, Panj. *ghēuñ*, Sindhī *gēhuñ*, Guj. *ghaūñ*, Gyp. *giv*. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahū*, Pāli *vadhū*, Uṛ. *bahu*, Bang. *baū*, Hindī *ba(h)ū*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhī *vahū*, *bōhu*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū*.

Syncope of dh.

§ 274. The loss of *dh* occurs only rarely in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Uṛ. *gama*, *gahama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Hindī *ghēuñ*, *gēhuñ*, *gō(n)huñ*, Panj. *ghēuñ*, Guj. *ghaūñ*, Gyp. *giv*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *viḍu*, *viḍava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvah*, Kāš. *vīa*, *vīga*, *bīvā*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *idaǰ*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *ažēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *žēr*, Sīv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *žēr*, Kurd. *žīr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*.

n = *n*.

§ 275. Indo-Iranian *n* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although in Middle Indian an original *n* is usually cerebralized to *ṇ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Prāk., Pāli *nāman*, New Ind. dialects *nām(v)*, Gyp. *anav*, *nav*. Skt. *nāmayati* 'bows,' Prāk. *ṇāmēi*, Pāli *nāmēti*, U_r. *nuṇāi*, Bang. *nām*, *nuya*, Hindī *nā(v)*, Panj. *nivā*, Sindhī *naṇvā*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhāṇu*, Pāli *sināna*, *nāhāna*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāūnā*, Guj. *nahāṇ*, Mar. *nahāṇ*, *nāhaṇēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *naṇman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxī *nung*, Afy. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*. Av. *nairya* 'virile,' Phl. *nērōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīrō*, Šīyn. *nīr*, Sarq. *niar*, Sangl. *narak*, Yidg. *nar*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak*, *nōk*, Pāz. *nō*, New Pers. *nō*, *nav*, Šīyn. *nau*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afy. *nau*, *navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Gab. *jan*, *yan(ūk)*, Sīv. *žin*, Zaf. *žan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *jan*, *jīn*, *yan*, *žan*, Nāy. *yanak*, Samn. *žanikō*, Šīyn. *γin*, Sarq. *γīn*, *žin*, Minj. *žinga*, Afy. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, *jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *žin*, Zaza *jan*.

$n > \hat{n}$.

§ 276. The change of *n* to \hat{n} is confined to the Sindhī, which alone preserves *ṇ*, \hat{n} , pronounced *ṇg* and *nḡ* respectively (see § 154).

a. Indian. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Prāk., Pāli *thana*, U_r., Bang. *thana*, Hindī *thān*, Panj. *thaṇ*, Sindhī *thaṇu*, *thaṇu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*. Skt. *mānanā* 'respect,' Hindī *mannā*, Sindhī *maṇaṇu*.

$n > \eta$.

§ 277. The cerebralization of *n* is very frequent in the Middle Indian dialects. Vararuci, ii. 42, goes so far as to postulate a change of *n* to η throughout the Prākrits (*nō ṇaḥ sarvatra*, cf. Pischel on Hēmacandra, i. 229, *Gramm. der Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 224). In the New Indian dialects the change is less common.

a. Indian. Skt. *nadī* 'river,' Prāk. *ṇaī*, Pāli *nadī*, New Ind. dialects *nadī*, W. Bang. also *ladī*. Skt. *vacana* 'speech,' Prāk. *vacana*, Māhār. Prāk. *vayana*, Pāli *vacana*. Skt. *khanēt* 'should

dig,' Gāthā *khaṇēt*. Skt. *dhēnu* 'cow,' Prāk. *dhēnu*, Pāli *dhēnu*, Sindhī *dhēnu*.

$n > b$.

§ 278. The change of *n* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,' Av. *mayna*, Oss. *baynag*.

$n > m$.

§ 279. The change of *n* to *m* occurs occasionally finally in Iranian.

b. Iranian. Av. *paitidāna* 'penom,' Phl. *padām*, Pāz. *panām*, *panōm*, New Pers. *panām*. Phl. *bān* 'roof,' New Pers. *bān*, *bām*, Sīv. *bān*, Kāš. *bā(n)*, *bōn*, Tāt. *sarbu*, Afy. *bām*, Kurd. *ḫān*. Av. *āfrīna* 'blessing,' Phl. *āfrīn* 'praise,' *nafrīn* 'curse,' New Pers. *nafrīn*, Kurd. *nafrīm*.

$n > r$.

§ 280. The change of *n* to *r* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāirañjana* nom. prop., Pāli *nērañjara*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ṭhāṇa*, *thāna*, Apab. Prāk. *ṭhāṇu*, *ṭhāū*, Pāli *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *tharai*, Ur. *thāṇā*, *ṭhāṇā*, Bang. *thān*, *thāṇā*, Bihārī *ṭhāū(n)*, *thā(n)v*, Hindī *thānā*, *ṭhāūnā*, Panj. *ṭhāṇā*, *thānā*, Sindhī *thāṇu*, *ṭhāṇu*, Guj. *thāṇ*, *ṭhāṇ*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Sinh. *tāna*, *ṭāna*.

$n > l$.

§ 281. The change of *n* to *l* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, and in Sinhalese the change is regular. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the development is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēnas* 'fault,' Pāli *ēla*, *ēla*. Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *limba*, Pāli *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindī *lim*, *nīm*, Sindhī *limu*, Guj. *limbaḍō*, Mar. *limb*. Skt. *navanīta* 'butter,' Pāli *navanīta*, *nōnīta*, Bang. *nanī*, Hindī *nōnī*, Mar. *lōṇī*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nīla* 'blue,' Kāsm. *nyul*, Bang., Bihārī *līl*, *nīl*, Guj. *līl*. Skt. *vana* 'forest,' Prāk. *vaṇa*, Pāli *vana*, Sinh. *val*, Maladive *vali*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nava* 'new,' Sinh. *lā*, Gyp. *nevō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jainī* 'woman,' Afy. *jal*, *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, etc.

(see § 275). Skt. *navaka* 'youth,' New Pers. *navah*, Kurd. *lau(k)*, *lāv*, *lō*.

$n > \underline{l}$.

§ 282. The change of *n* to \underline{l} is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēnas* 'fault,' Pāli *ēla*, *ēla*. Skt. *vana* 'forest,' Maladive *vali*, etc. (see preceding §).

$n > v$.

§ 283. The change of *n* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnīk*, *bēnīk*, Pāz. *vīnī*, New Pers. *bīnī*, Samn. *vīnī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tāl. *vīnī*, E. Kurd. *baval*, Kurd. *bivil*, *bēn*.

Syncope of n.

§ 284. The loss of Indo-Iranian *n* is rather uncommon. In the Iranian dialects the apocope of *n* is found occasionally after long vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Apab. Prāk. *ṭhāū*, *ṭhāṇu*, Bihārī *ṭhāū(m)*, *ṭhā(m)v*, etc. (see § 280).

b. Iranian. Phl. *vārān* 'rain,' New Pers. *bārān*, Zaf. *vurō*, Kāš. *vōrūn*, Nāy. *vārūn*, Kurd. *bārīn*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Zaf. *nū*, Nāy. *nōu*, Central dialects *nūn*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *nayan*. New Pers. *tābistān* 'summer,' Sīv. *tavisā*. New Pers. *sā* 'manner,' *sān*. Phl., New Pers. *pasīn* 'hinder,' Kurd. *pašī*.

Prothesis of n.

§ 285. The prothesis of *n* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Phl. *ānīnak* 'mirror,' New Pers. *ānah*, Bal. *ādēnk*, (*h*)*ādēk*, N. Bal. *ādēn*, *āzīna*, Kurd. *nainak*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

Epenthesis of n.

§ 286. The epenthesis of *n* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hazairra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hazār*, Afy. *zar*, Zaza *hanzār*.

$$p = p.$$

§ 287. Indo-Iranian *p* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'afterward,' Prāk., Pāli *pacchā*, Ass. *picē*, *pācē*, Kāśm. *pat(h)*, Ur. *pachē*, *pāchu*, Bang. *pāchā*, Hindī *pachē*, *pīchē*, *pāchā*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Sindhī *pōē*, *puām*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Sinh. *pas(u)*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kāśm. *pōp*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj. $\sqrt{p}ak$, *pik*, Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*. Skt. \sqrt{chap} 'go' (?), Ur. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *chāpitē*, *cāpitē*, *ṭēpitē*, Hindī *chāpanā*, *cāmpānā*, *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭīpanā*, *thapaṇā*, Sindhī *chāpaṇu*, *cāpaṇu*, *ṭapuḍaṇu*, *ṭhapaṇu*, Mar. *chāpaṇēm*, *cāpaṭa-ṇēm*, *ṭāp*, *ṭhapaḱā*, Anglo-Ind. (first) *chop*, *shampoo*. Skt., Pāli *japana* 'muttering,' Hindī *ja(n)panā*, Mar. *jāpaṇēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pasca* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā(va)*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kāš. *pac*, *paš*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāši*, *pāšva*, Dig. Oss. *fastāga*, Tag. *fastag*. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxī *püð*, Šiyn. *pāð*, Sarq. *pað*, Sangl. *pud*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluk*, Yayn. *puda*, Afγ. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phāð*, *phāz*, Zaza *pai*. Av. *āp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Pāz. *āw*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Gab. *ō*, Sīv. *av*, *au*, Yazdī *vō*, Kāš. *ōv*, Nāy. *āō*, Nat. *au*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō(v)*, Gil., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Wāxī *yupk*, *yapak*, Yidg. *yovy*, Yayn. *āp*, Afγ. *ōba*, Bal. *āp*, N. Bal. *āf*, Kurd. *āv*.

$$p > k.$$

§ 288. The change of *p* to *k* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pipīlika* 'ant,' Pāli *kipillika*, *pipīlika* (by dissimilation).

$$p > ph, f.$$

§ 289. In the Middle and New Indian dialects the aspirization of an original *p* is usually caused by a following aspirate or sibilant. In the Iranian dialects *p* becomes *f* (apart from the regular laws of aspiration in Iranian) in Ossetish, and between vowels, or

finally after vowels in North Balūcī, although this dialect shows *ph* initially before vowels and *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *parigha* 'bar,' Prāk. *phaliha*. Skt. *paruṣa* 'rough,' Pāli *pharusa*. Skt. *pāribhadra* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *phālihadda*, Pāli *phālibhadda*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppha*, Bihārī *phūp(h)*, Old Hindī *puhupa*, Hindī *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phul*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *pāsa*, Nāip. *phāmsō*, *pāsō*, Ur. *phās*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *phāms*, Panj. *phāhā*, Sindhī *phāsī*, *phāhī*, Guj., Mar. *phāms*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *pazēt*, New Pers. *pazad*, Gab. *paxa*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *paxta*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bayazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fičun*, Tag. *fičīn*. Av. *parəna* 'feather,' Phl., New Pers. *parr*, Afy. *par*, Bal. *pan*, Kurd. *far*, *pal*, *par*, Zaza *firin* 'to fly.' Skt. *tapas* 'heat,' New Pers. *tāb*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tav*, Afy. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thaph*, *thaf*, *thap*, Kurd. *tā(v)*, Tag. Oss. *thaf*. Av., Old Pers. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šap*, *šavāk*, New Pers. *šab*, Samn. *šō*, Māz. *šū*, Tāl. *šav*, Tāt *šū*, Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, N. Bal. *šaf*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *axšav*.

p > b.

§ 290. The change of the tenuis *p* to the media *b* is more common in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects, where *p* normally becomes *v*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lipi* 'tablet,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi) *libi*, Pāli *lipi*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prāk. *ṇhāvia*, *nāvia*, Śākara Prāk. *nābida*. Skt. *kapāta* 'door,' Prāk. *apāta*, Ur., Bang. *kabāda*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavād*. Skt. *api* 'also,' Prāk. *pī*, *avi*, Pāli (*api*), Sindhī *bi*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Prāk. *thāvēi*, Pāli *thāpeti*, Ur. *thuibā*, Bang. *thāitē*, Hindī, Panj. *thāpanā*, Guj. *thāpavum*, Mar. *thāpaṇēm*, Sinh. *tabanavā*. Skt. *parasvant* 'rhinoceros,' Pāli *balasata*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kapōta* 'dove,' Phl. *kapōt(ar)*, New Pers. *kabūtar*, Wāxī *kibit*, Sarq. *cabaud*, Yidg. *kuvū*, Afy. *kautar*,

kavntar, Bal. *kapōt*, *kōtar*, Kurd. *kavōk*. Av. *xšapan* 'night,' New Pers., Šīyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *āp* 'water,' New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Afγ. *ōba*, etc. (see § 287). Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpās*, *rōbās*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Gab. *rūvās*, Sarq. *rapč*, Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rāvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*.

p > m.

§ 291. The change of *p* to *m* is very rare outside the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nīpa* 'Kadamba tree,' Prāk. *nīma*, *nīva*, Pāli *nīpa*. Skt. *āpīda* 'chaplet,' Prāk. *āmēla*, *āvēḍa*. Skt. *punaḥ* 'again,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi), *mina*, (inscriptions of Shāhbazgarhi) *pana*, lit. Prāk. *puna*, Pāli *pana*, Bihārī *phīn*, *p(h)un*. Skt. *svapant* 'sleeping,' Pāli *sumanta*, but *supati* 'sleeps.' Skt., Pāli *kacchapa* 'tortoise,' Bang. *kachim*, Hindī, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhī *kañchū*. Skt. *sapādika* 'one and one fourth,' Prāk. *savāia*, Ur. *saūyāi*, Bang. *saūyā*, Hindī *savā*, W. Hindī *samā*, Panj. *savā(īā)*, Sindhī *savāi*, Guj. *savā*, Mar. *savvā*.

p > y.

§ 292. The change of *p* to *y*, which is, as in all similar phenomena, only apparent (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256, 270), is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *pipāsā* 'thirst,' Hindī *piyās*, *piās*, *pyās*.

p > v.

§ 293. The change of *p* to *v* is the most frequent one of all those to which Indo-Iranian *p* is subject, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. It is closely akin to the changes of *p* to *b* and of *b* to *v* noted in §§ 290, 308.

a. Indian. Skt. *kapāla* 'skull,' Prāk., Pāli *kavāla*. Skt. *pāpa* 'evil,' Prāk. *pāva*, Pāli *pāpa*, Kaśm. *pāph*, Sinh. *pavu*, other New Ind. dialects *pāp*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *uvajjhāa*,

ujjhā, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pāḍha*, Sindhī *vājhō*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*, etc. (see § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* 'above,' Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (a)*bar*, Wāxī, Sarq. *var*, Afγ. *prē*, Bal. *par*, N. Bal. *phar*, *gvar*, Kurd. *bar*, Oss. *vala*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' Pāz. *law*, New Pers. *lab*, Gab. *lāv*, Bahb. *lau*, Zāf. *lō*, Kāš. *lav*, Vōn. *lōi*, Nay. *liyū*, Wāxī, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv*. Av. *āp* 'water,' New Pers. *āv*, *āb*, Sīv. *av*, *au*, Kāš. *ōv*, Māz. *ōv*, *ō*, Gīl., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Yidg. *yovγ*, Kurd. *āv*, etc. (see § 287). Av. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šavāk*, *šap*, Tāl. *šav*. Minj *xšava*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *axšav*, etc. (see § 289). Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Gab. *rūvās*, Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see § 290). Skt. *kapiñjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *lapīnjar*, N. Bal. *khawīnjar*.

Syncope of *p*.

§ 294. The loss of Indo-Iranian *p* through the transition-grades *b* and *v* (cf. §§ 290, 293, 309, 376) is not uncommon in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *āryaputra* 'father-in-law's son,' Prāk. *ajjaṭṭa*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuwā*, Kaśm. *khuh*, Uṛ., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kū(n)ām*, Sindhī *khāhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *kapittha* 'wood-apple tree,' Uṛ. *kaṭṭa*, Hindī *kaṭṭabel* (with metathesis).

b. Iranian. Av. *āp* 'water,' Gab. *ō*, Nay. *āō*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō*, *ōv*, etc. (see § 287). Skt. *tapas* 'heat,' Gab. *tō*, Kurd. *tā*, *tāv*, etc. (see § 289).

ph = *ph*.

§ 295. Indo-Iranian *ph* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *phaṇa* 'snake's hood,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *phaṇā*, Sindhī *phaṇi*, Guj. *phaṇō*, Mar. *phaṇā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxī *xuf*, Sarq. *xaf*, Bal. *kap*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Oss. *xafa*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *safa* 'hoof,' Afγ. *sva*, Oss. *safthag*.

ph > *p*.

§ 296. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *ph* is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Balūcī, where intervocalic *ph* regularly becomes *p*, which North Balūcī has developed to *f*.

a. Indian. Skt. *phaḍiṇga* 'flying insect,' Pāli *paṭaṇga*. Skt. *phalgu* 'herb,' Pāli **phalgava* > *paggava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōh*, Kuhr. *kūfūn*, Tāt *kuf*, Afy. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpag*, N. Bal. *kōfaγ*, Kurd. *kūih*. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Bal. *kap*, etc. (see preceding §).

ph > *b*.

§ 297. The change of *ph* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Afy. *kvab*, etc. (see preceding §).

ph > *bh*.

§ 298. The change of *ph* to *bh* is found not infrequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēpha* 'burring sound,' Prāk. *rēbha*. Skt. *saphala* 'fruitful,' Prāk. *sabhala*, Apab. Prāk. *sahalu*, Pāli *saphala*. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prāk. *sabhari*, *sahari*, Pāli *sa-phari*, Hindī *saharī*, Panj. *saūl*.

ph > *v*.

§ 299. The change of *ph* to *v* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Kurd. *kūih*, but *kōvī* 'wild,' etc. (see § 296). Av. *safa* 'hoof,' Afy. *sva*, etc. (see § 295).

ph > *h*.

§ 300. The change of *ph* to *h* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prāk. *sahari*, *sabhari*, Hindī *saharī*, etc. (see § 298).

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' New Pers. *kōh*, etc. (see § 296).

Syncope of ph.

§ 301. The loss of Indo-Iranian *ph* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Panj. *saūl*, etc. (see § 298).

Epenthesis of ph, f.

§ 302. The epenthesis of *ph, f*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taša* 'axe,' New Pers. *taš*, Kurd. *tafsciū*.

$$b = b.$$

§ 303. Indo-Iranian *b* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *badhnati* 'binds,' Prāk. *baṁdhaṛi*, Pāli *baṁdhati*, Hindī *bāṁdh*, Panj. *bannh*, Sindhī *bāṁdh*. Skt. *budhyatē* 'knows,' Prāk. *bujjhaṛi*, Pāli *bujjhati*, Kaśm. *saṁjhāadi*, *bujhibā*, Ur., Bang. *būjhana*, Hindī *būjhanā*, Panj. *bujjhaṇā*, Sindhī *bujhaṇu*, Guj. *bujarūn*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *sabara*, *samara*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baxšaiti* 'divides,' Phl. *baxtanō*, Pāz., New Pers. *baxšīdan*, Afγ. *bašal*, *baxal*, Bal. *bakšag*, N. Bal. *baškay*, Kurd. *baxšin*. Av. *barəz* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *burz*, Kurd. *barz*, Oss. *barzond*.

$$b > p.$$

§ 304. The change of the *b* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bādha* 'firm,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi and Dhauli) *pādha*, Māhār. Prāk. *bādha*. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pāli *pabbaja*.

$$b > bh.$$

§ 305. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian *b* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bhaaphadi*.

$$b > m.$$

§ 306. The change of *b* to *m* is extremely rare (cf. Skt. *brāhi* 'speak!' Av. *mrūdi*).

a. Indian. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *samara*, *sabara*. Skt. *kabandha* 'belly, cloud,' Prāk. *kamaṁdha*, *kayaṁdha*.

b > y.

§ 307. The change of *b* to *y*, which is only an apparent one (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256, 270, 292), is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kabandha* 'belly, cloud,' Prāk. *kayaṃdha*, *kamaṃdha*.

b > v.

§ 308. The change of *b* to *v* is very common, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The Prākrits have so far confused *b* and *v* that Vararuci writes *v* for *b* throughout. The New Indian dialects use *v* almost to the exclusion of *b* in the East, Hindī reverses this, writing every *v* as *b*, Panjābī uses *b* and *v* indifferently, while the Western dialects preserve the original distinction between the two more carefully.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'vapor,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śāur. Prāk. *bappa*, Pāli *bappa*, Kāśm. *bāha*, Uṛ., Bang. *bāpha*, *bhāpha*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bā(n)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *bāph*, Guj. *bā(n)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *bandhyā* 'barren woman,' Prāk., Pāli *vaṃjjhā*, Bang. *bāṃjhā*, Sindhī *vāṃjh*, Marjvarī *bāṃjhadī*, Guj. *vāṃjhanī*, Mar. *vāṃjh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būza* 'goat,' Phl. *būj*, New Pers. *buz*, Wāxī *buc*, *büc*, Šīyn., Sarq. *vaz*, Sangl. *vuz*, Minj. *voza*, Yidg. *viza*, Afy. *vuz*, Kurd. *bizin*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēv*, *nēk*.

Syncope of b.

§ 309. The syncope of an intervocalic *b* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pibati* 'drinks,' Prāk. *piaī*, Pāli *pibati*, Sinh. *bonavā*, caus. *povanavā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēk*, *nēv*.

Epenthesis of b.

§ 310. The epenthesis of *b* is quite rare. It seems to occur mostly in the vicinity of *m*.

b. Iranian. Av. *staxra* 'stiff,' Phl. *stahmbaktar*, *stahmaktar*,

New Pers. *sitam*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl., New Pers. *dum*, *dumb*, Sarq. *ḍüm*, *ḍümbā*, Afy. *lam*, Kurd. *dūv*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *dimag*. Skt. *rōman* 'hair of the body,' New Pers. *rūm*, *rumah*, *rumbah*.

bh = *bh*.

§ 311. In the Indian dialects Indo-Iranian *bh* is in general retained unchanged. The Iranian dialects, on the other hand, change *bh* to *b*, which, however, in the younger Avesta became *w*, excepting when *b* was preceded by a written nasal or sibilant, or when *b* was initial.

a. Indian. Skt. *pratibhāti* 'glory,' Prāk. *paḍibhāti*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *bhūmi* 'earth,' U_r. *bhūma*, *bhūrīm*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī *bhūm*, *bhūim*, *bhūrīm*, Panj. *bhūm*, *bhūm*, *bhūrīm*, *bhōrīm*, Sindhī *bhā(im)*, Guj. *bhā(y)*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Gyp. *phuv*.

bh > *kh*, *x*.

§ 312. The change of *bh* to *kh*, *x*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *ābhā* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *āftāb* 'sun,' Šiyn., Sarq. *aftau*, Kurd. *ātaf*, So *axtāv*, *ataf*, *adav*, Boxtanī *tāv*.

bh > *ph*, *f*.

§ 313. The change of *bh* to *ph*, *f*, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *aiwirocayeiti* 'kindles,' Phl. *afrōxtanō*, New Pers. *afrōxtan*. Skt. *abhi* + *śāṇa* 'whetstone,' Phl. *afsān*, New Pers. *afsān*, *avsān*, *fasān*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pasān*. Skt. *ūrṇavābhi* 'spinning-wheel,' New Pers. *bāftan*, Gab. *vaftmūn*, Wāxī *vufam*, Sarq. *vāfam*, Afy. *ōdal*, *ūdal*, Bal. *gvapag*, N. Bal. *gvafaγ*, Oss. *vafin*.

bh > *b*.

§ 314. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *bh* is by no means common.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bhaiṇī*, *bahiṇī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Kāsm. *byaṇ*, U_r. *bhāunī*, *bhaiṇī*, Bang. *baīn*, Hindī

bahin, Panj. *bhāin*, *bāinh*, Sindhī *bhēnu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīn*, Gyp. *phen*.

bh > *m*.

§ 315. The change of *bh* to *m* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṇḍubhi* 'drum,' Pāli *dindima*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *bharḡā* 'bharg, hemp,' Av. *barḡha*, Phl., New Pers. *mang*, *bang*. Skt. *nābhi* 'navel,' Av. *nāfah*, Phl. *nāf(ak)*, Afγ. *nū*, *nūm*, Bal. *nāpag*, *nāfag*, N. Bal. *nāfaγ*, Kurd. *nāv*.

bh > *mh*.

§ 316. The change of *bh* to *mh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaṇāti* 'speaks,' Prāk. *bhaṇāi*, Pāli *bhaṇāti*, Mar. *mhaṇaṇēmi*.

bh > *v*.

§ 317. The change of *bh* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Yidg. *nuruk*.

bh > *h*.

§ 318. The change of *bh* to *h* is the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *bh* is subject in the Indian dialects, but *bh* does not become *h* in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāṇḍa* 'pot,' Pāli *bhaṇḍa*, Ur., Bang. *hāmḍi*, Bihārī *hāmḍ*, *bhāmḍ*, Hindī, Panj. *hōmḍī*, Sindhī *hamḍī*, Guj. *hāmḍī*, Mar. *hāmḍī*. Skt. *labhati* 'takes,' Prāk. *lahaṛ*, Pāli *labhati*, Ur. *nē*, Bang. *laō*, Old Hindī *laha*, Hindī *lē*, Panj. *lahi*, *lai*, Sindhī *lah*, Guj. *lē*, Mar. *nē*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *huvāi*, *bhavaṛ*, Pāis. Prāk. *bhōti*, Śāur. *hōdi*, *huvadi*, *havadi*, *bhōdi*, *bhuvadi*, *bhavadi*, Pāli *hōti*, *bhavati*, Ur. *kōibā*, *hēbā*, Bang. *hōitē*, Hindī *hōnā*, Panj. *hōṇā*, Sindhī *huanu*, Guj. *hōvum*, Mar. *hōṇēm*.

m = *m*.

§ 319. Indo-Iranian *m* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass.

māj, Kaśm. *mañz*, Ur. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindī *mājhi*, *mañjhōlā*, Panj. *māñjh*, *majjh*, Sindhī *mañjhu*, Mar. *mājh*, Sinh. *mā(m)da*. Skt. *mṛta* 'dead,' Prāk. *maa*, *mua*, Māg. Prāk. *maḍē*, Ur. *malā*, Hindī *muā*, Panj. *muiā*, Sindhī *muō*, Guj. *muuū*, Mar. *mēlēm*, Sinh. *mala*. Skt. *kṣamā* 'patience,' Prāk. *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Pali *khamā*, Hindī *chimā*, Panj., Sindhī *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*, Mar. *khamañēm*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pali *gāma*, Ur., Bang. *gām*, Hindī *gāmv*, Sindhī *gāmu*, *gāū*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gāmv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maidyana* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, Wāxī *malung*, Šīyn. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *maḍān*, Afγ. *mañj*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mūdag*. Av. *mərata* 'dead,' Phl. *mart* 'mortal,' New Pers. *mard*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mir*. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *zam*, Wāxī *zam*, Šīyn. *zimj*, *zinj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afγ. *žimai*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Māz. *nūm*, Gīl. *nōm*, Wāxī *nung*, Afγ. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, plur. *namththa*, Tag. *nom*. Phl. *yāmak*, *jāmak* 'robe,' New Pers. *jāmah*, So Kurd. *yūma*.

$m > n$.

§ 320. The change of *m* to *n* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Dig. Oss. *non*, but plur. *namththa*, etc. (see preceding §).

$m > ŋ$.

§ 321. The change of *m* to *ŋ* occurs but seldom.

b. Iranian. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Wāxī *nung*, etc. (see § 319). Skt. *āma* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxī *yūng*, Afγ. *ōm*, *ūm*, Bal. *hāmag*, N. Bal. *hāmay*, Kurd. *xāv*.

$m > ph, f$.

§ 322. The change of *m* to *ph, f* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dāman* 'bond,' New Pers. *dām*, Afγ. *lūm*, Kurd. *daf*.

m > *b*.

§ 323. The change of *m* to *b* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pāli *mahiṃsa*, Kāśm. *mūṃṣ*, Ur. *bhayēṣa*, Bang. *bhāṃṣ*, Bihārī *mhāis*, *bhāṃṣ*, *mahis*, *bahis*, Hindī *bhāṃṣ*, *mhāṃṣ*, Panj. *majh*, Sindhī *maṃjh*, *māmhī*, Guj. *bhēṃṣ*, *bhāṃṣ*, *bhāṃṃh*, Mar. *bhāṃṣ*, *mhāis*. Skt., Pāli *manōrama* 'delightful,' Old Sinh. *manumaraka* 'grandson' < **manurama-ka*, Sinh. *nunuburu* (*m* > *b* by dissimilation).

m > *v*.

§ 324. In the New Indian dialects the change of *m* to *v* is a very frequent one. It is more rare in the Middle Indian, while only a few instances are quotable from the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *manmatha* 'love,' Prāk. *vammaha*, Śāur. Prāk. *mammadha*. Skt. *abhimanyu* nom. prop., Prāk. *ahivaṇṇu*, *ahimaṇṇu*. Skt. *yāmala* 'pair,' Jaina Prāk. *yāvāra*, Pāli *yamala*. Skt. *mīmāṃṣ* 'investigating,' Pāli *vīvāṃṣ*. Skt. *āmalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *āmalaa*, Pāli *āmalaka*, Ur. *āmālā*, Bang. *āōlā*, *āūlā*, Hindī, Panj. *āmvalā*, Sindhī *āmvirō*, Mar. *āmvalā*. Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pāli *sāmala*, E. Hindī *sāmvar*, Hindī *sāmvalā*, W. Hindī *sāmvrāū*, Panj. *sāmvalā*, Sindhī *sāmvalu*, *sāmviru*, Mar. *sāmvalā*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' Bihārī *gōsāmī*, Mar. *gōsāvī*, other New Ind. dialects *gōsām*, Anglo-Ind. *gosain*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmānkar*, Pāz. *andī-mānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Siv., Zaf., Kāš. *dim*, Kuhr. *dim*, *dīm*, Afy. *lēma*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dēv*, *dēv*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *pairi* 'around' + *vazaiti* 'flies,' New Pers. *parmāz* 'flight' beside *parvāz*. New Pers. *parvānah* 'butterfly' beside *parmānah*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz., New Pers. *namāz*, Afy. *nmunj*, Bal. *navāš*, *namāš*, Kurd. *nīvēz*, *nvēž*, *nmēž*. Av. *naēma* 'half,' Phl. *nēm(ak)*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīm*, Afy. *nīmai*, Bal. *nēmag*, Kurd. *nīv*.

m > *s*.

§ 325. The change of *m* to *s* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk. *bhasala*, *bhasara*,

bhasana, *bhamara*, Apab. Prāk. *bhasahu*, Jaina Prāk. *bhasara*, Pāli *bhamara*, Ur. *bhaṁara*, Bang. *bhāmara*, Bihārī *bhāumrā*, Hindī *bhaṁvar*, *bhāumr*, Panj. *bhaṁur*, Sindhī *bhāumru*, Mar. *bhōmr*. [So Hēmacandra falsely (see Pischel, § 251).]

$m > ṁ$.

§ 326. The change of *m* to *ṁ* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nāman* 'name,' Hindī *nāmv*, Panj. *nāum*, Sindhī *nāmun*, Mar. *nāv*, Gyp. *anāv*, *nav*. Skt., Prāk. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhūmi*, *bhummi*, Ur. *bhūma*, *bhūim*, Bang. *bhām*, Hindī *bhūm*, *bhūim*, *bhūm*, Panj. *bhūm*, *bhūim*, *bhōim*, *bhūm*, Sindhī *bhūim*, *bhū*, Guj. *bhū*, *bhuy*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Sinh. *bima*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *rōman* 'hair of the body,' Bang. *rōmā*, Bihārī *rōām*, *rōvaṁ*, Hindī, Panj., *rōām*, Sindhī *lūm*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' New Ind. dialects *gōsām*, etc. (see § 324). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dhūma* 'smoke,' Ass. *dhōmā*, Nāip. *dhūām*, Kaśm. *duh*, Bang. *dhuyām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *dhūmām*, *dhūām*, Sindhī *duimhām*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Sinh. *dum*.

$m > ṁv$.

§ 327. The change of *m* to *ṁv* is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Hindī *nāmv*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kumāra* 'prince,' Prāk. *kumāra*, Māg. Prāk. *kumālē*, Pāli *kumāraka*, Bihārī *kuṁar*, *kuar*, *kuvar*, Hindī *kuṁvar*, Panj. *kaṁvar*, Mar. *kuṁvar*.

Syncope of m.

§ 328. The loss of Indo-Iranian *m* is very frequent in the New Indian dialects, although in Middle Indian *m* is lost only when final. In the Iranian dialects the phenomenon is found but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *katham* 'how,' Prāk. *kaha*, *kaham*. Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Prāk. *dāṇi*, *dāṇim*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions

hidalōkika 'temporal.' Skt., Pāli *nēmi* 'circumference,' U_r. *nia*, Bang. *nēō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *nēv*, Panj. *niun*, Guj. *nēv*. Skt. *cāmara* 'ox-tail fan,' Prāk. *cāmara*, Pāli *cāmara*, U_r. *camara*, Bang. *cāunr*, *camarā*, Hindī *cāurī*, *cāunrī*, Panj. *cāur*, Sindhī *cāuru*, Guj. *cāurī*, Mar. *cāurī*, *cāunrī*, *cāmar*, Anglo-Ind. *chowry*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Nāip. *dhūām*, Hindī, Panj. *dhūām*, *dhū-mām*, etc. (see § 326). Skt. *vāmana* 'dwarf,' Prāk., Pāli *vāmana*, Bang. *bāuniyā*, Hindī *banā*, *bāunā*, Panj. *bāunā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *gaḍumava*, name of a place, Phl., Pāz. *gantum* 'garlic,' New Pers. *gandum*, Nāy. *gundō*, Wāxī *γidīm*, Šīyn. *zindam*, Sarq. *zandam*, *zandum*, Sangl., Minj. *γandam*, Yidg. *γadum*, Afy. *γanum*, Bal. *gandīm*. Old Pers. *avākanam* 'I dug,' New Pers. *kanam*, Gab. *akana*, *akanē*, but 1 pl. *akanīm*.

Epenthesis of m, n̄.

§ 329. In the Indian dialects epenthesis of *m*, *n̄*, is very frequent. It is far less common in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yat prabhṛti* 'since,' Jāina Prāk. *jappabhiim*, cf. Māhār. Prāk. *tappabhiim*. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pāli *mahiṃsa*, Kāśm. *mūṃṣ*, Bang. *bhaiṃs*, Bihārī *bhāiṃs*, *mhāis*, *mahis*, *bahis*, Hindī *bhāiṃs*, *mhāiṃs*, Sindhī *manjḥ*, *mānhi*, Guj. *bhēms*, *bhaiṃs*, *bhāimh*, Mar. *bhāiṃs*, *mhāis*, etc. (see § 323). Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kāśm. *khuh*, U_r, Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kūmām*, *kūām*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuwō*. Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhī*, *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā*, U_r. *chāhīna*, Bihārī *chāmḥ*, Hindī *chām*, *chāiv*, *chāmḥ*, *chāōm*, Panj. *chām*, *chāim*, Sindhī *chām(v)*, Guj. *chāmy*. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Prāk. *naha*, Pāli *nabha*, Sinh. *numba*, *nuba*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *lajjā* 'modesty,' U_r, Old Bang., Hindī *lajjā*, *lāj*, Panj. *lajj*, Sindhī *lāj*, Guj., Mar. *lajjā*, *lāj*, Sinh. *laṇḍa*, *lada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *prḍāku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *palang*, *pilang*, Afy. *prāng*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Afy. *nmunj*, etc. (see § 324). Lat. *vespa* 'wasp,' Lith. *vapsa*, Bal. *gramz*, *grabz*. New Pers.

pōz 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afγ. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pōnz*, *pōz*, N. Bal. *phōnz*, *phōz*, Kurd. *pūz*, *pōz*, Dig. Oss. *finja*, Tag. *fing*. Phl. *huftanō* 'to hide,' 3 s. pres. *hūmbēṭ*, New Pers. *nihuftan*, *nihunbīdan*, Kurd. *nixiftin*.

y = y.

§ 330. Indo-Iranian *y* remains in general unchanged in the Iranian dialects, especially in the Persian dialects. In the Indian dialects, on the other hand, the preservation of an initial *y* is excessively rare, although it is usually retained internally.

a. Indian. Skt. *yabhati* 'futuīt,' Sindhī *yabhaṇu*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dayālu* 'merciful,' Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dayāl(u)*, Sindhī *ḍayālu*, Guj., Mar. *dayāl(u)*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāis. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyān*, *hiāun*, Sindhī *himāmu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēn*, Gyp. (*y*)ilo.

b. Iranian. Av. *yaska* 'disease,' Phl. *yask*, New Pers. *jask*. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juγ*, Kuhr. *yū*, Šiγn. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūy*, Bal. *jōy*, Kurd. *jūk*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Sīv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kāš. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šiγn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yaugj*, Yaγn. *yau*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukrī *yō*, Oss. *yau*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afγ. *yūn*. Av. *asaya* 'shadowless,' Phl. *sāyak* 'shadow,' New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāi*, Kurd. *sī*. Av. *zayata* 'was born,' Phl. *zayand*, New Pers. *zayad*, Afγ. *zēžī*, Bal. *zāyag*, N. Bal. *zāy*, Kurd. *zāin*, Oss. *zayi*.

y > j.

§ 331. In the Indian dialects original *y* regularly becomes *j*. Uṛiya and Bangālī pronounce every *y* as *j*, and the same practice is observed in most instances by Hindī and Panjābī. The West Indian dialects, the Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, on the other hand, retain the Old Indian value of *y* (cf. also § 308). The change of *y* to *j* is less common in the Iranian dialects, although New Persian, Afγān, Balūcī, and Kurdish show frequent examples of it.

a. Indian. Skt. *ya* 'who,' Prāk. *ja*, Pāli *ya*, U_r., Bang. *jē*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhī *jō*, Guj. *jē*, Mar. *jō*. Skt. *yōgya* 'worthy,' Prāk. *jogga*, Pāli *yogga*, New Ind. dialects *jōg*, Mar. also *yōg*. Skt. *yāuvana* 'youth,' Prāk. *jorvaṇa*, Pāli *yobbana*, Sindhī *jōbhanu*. Skt. *yantragṛha* 'bath-room,' Pāli *jantāghara*, *jantaggha*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' Prāk. *jahā*, Pāli *jathā*, Gāthā *jahā*, U_r. *jēthā*, Bang. *jēkhānē*, Hindi *jahāni*, Panj. *jithē*, Sindhī *jiti*, Guj. *jāmhām*, Mar. *jēthēm*, *jithē*. Skt., Pāli *yāna* 'vehicle,' U_r. *jibā*, Bang. *jāitē*, Hindi *jānā*, Panj. *jāṇā*, Guj. *javum*, Mar. *yāṇēm*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *yuiyā* 'canal,' Phl. *yōi*, *jōi*, New Pers. *jōi*, Afy. *jova*. Av. *yuxta* 'joined,' Phl. *juxt*, New Pers. *juft*, Afy. *juxt*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *jav*, *yav*, New Pers. *jav*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *yāma* 'glass,' Phl. *jām*, *yām*, New Pers. *jām*.

$y > b$.

§ 332. The change of *y* to *b* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pūya* 'pus,' Pāli *pubba*. Skt. *jarāyu* 'uterus,' Pāli *jalābu*, Sinh. *dalabu*.

$y > bh$.

§ 333. The change of *y* to *bh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarayu* name of a river, Pāli *sarabhu*.

$y > r$.

§ 334. The change of *y* to *r* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śrāmanēya* 'novice,' Pāli *sāmaṇēra*. Skt. *snāyu* 'sinew,' Jaina Prāk. *ṇhāru*, Pāli *nahāru*, Sinh. *naharaya*.

$y > l$.

§ 335. The change of *y* to *l* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prāk. *laṭṭhi*, Śāur. Prāk. *jaṭṭhi*, Pāli *laṭṭhi*, U_r., Bang. *lāthi*, Hindi *lāt(i)*, *lāthi*, Panj. *laṭṭhi*, Sindhī *lāthi*, Guj. *lāt*, *lāth*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *dyōtayati* 'illuminates,' Pāli

jōtalati, jōtayati, jōtēti. Bihārī *dilōtarsu* 'one hundred and two' beside *diyōtarsu* (on the analogy of *tilōtarsu, calōtarsu*, etc.).

y > v.

§ 336. The change of *y* to *v* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛgaya* 'hunt,' Pāli *migava*. Skt. *trayas-trimśat* 'thirty-three,' Jāina Prāk., Pāli *tavattisa*, Kaśm. *tyaya-trah*, Bihārī *tāimtis*, cf. archaic Siṃh. *tavak*. Skt. *āyudha* 'weapon,' Prāk. *āūha*, Pāis. Prāk. *āyudha*, Pāli *āyudha, āvudha*, Siṃh. *avi(ya)*.

y > h.

§ 337. The change of *y* to *h* is an exceedingly rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhā* 'shadow,' *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā*, Ur. *chāhina*, Hindī *chām̐h, chām̐(v), chāōm̐*, Panj. *cā(ū)m̐*, Sindhī *chām̐(v)*, Guj. *cām̐y*. Skt. *raṇajaya* 'victorious,' Pāli *raṇam̐jaha*. Skt. *svayampati* 'epithet of Brāhma,' Pāli *sahampati*.

Apocope of y.

§ 338. The loss of an original initial *y* is found, although but seldom, in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yūkā* 'louse,' Pāli *ūkā*, Hindī *jūm̐*, Gyp. *juv*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *yuṣmākam* 'of you,' GAṽ. *xšmāka*, YAv. *yušmākəm*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*.

Syncope of y.

§ 339. The loss of an original *y* is not a very frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kisalaya* 'sprout,' Prāk. *kisala, kisalaya*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hīaa, hiaya*, Pāis. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Ass., Ur., Bang. *hiā*, Panj. *hiāum̐, hiyām̐*, etc. (see § 330). Skt. *vāyu* 'wind,' Prāk. *vāū*, Pāli *vāyu*, Ur. *bōa*, Bang., Hindī *bāī, bāō*, Panj. *vāū*, Sindhī *bāī, vāū*, Guj. *vā(ī)*, Mar. *vāv*. Skt. *dēva-*

laya 'temple,' Ur. *dēul*, Bang., Hindī *dēval*, Panj. *dēvālā*, Sindhi *dēvalī*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēul*.

Prothesis of y.

§ 340. Prothetic *y* is occasionally found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēva* 'indeed,' Prāk. *yēva*, Śāur. Prāk. *jēva*, Pāli *ēva*, *yēva*, *hēva*. Skt. *āvirbhutvā* 'having become manifest,' Jāina Prāk. *yāvihottā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ātaš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *ātiš*, Gab. *taš*, Šīyn. *yāč*, Sarq. *yuč*, Minj. *yūr*, N. Bal. *āc*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj., Yidg. *yašp*, Afy. *ās*, Bal. (*h*)*aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag. *yafs*. Av. *ahmi* 'I am,' Old Pers. *amīy*, New Pers. *am*, Afy. *yam*, *am*, Kurd. *im*.

aya > *ā*.

§ 341. The loss of Indo-Iranian *y* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, which has been noted in § 339, gives rise to various contractions. Similar contractions often occur in consequence of the syncope of Indo-Iranian consonants. The contraction of *aya* to *ā* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *abhyayana* 'rehabilitation,' Pāli *abbhāna*. Skt., Pāli *udaya* 'rise,' Simh. *udā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *dārayavauš* nom. prop., Phl. *dāriav*, New Pers. *dārā(b)*, *dārāv*.

aya > *ē*.

§ 342. The contraction of *aya* to *ē* is the normal one in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. It is carried out in all causatives in the Middle Indian.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prāk. *dhārēi*, Pāli *dhārēti*. Skt. *kathayati* 'tells,' Śāur. Prāk. *kadhēdi*, *kahēdi*, Pāli *kathēti*. Skt. *nayati* 'leads,' Prāk. *nēi*, Śāur. Prāk. *nēdi*, Pāis. Prāk. *nēti*, Pāli *nayati*, *nēti*, Gāthā *upanēti*. Skt. *kṣaya* 'destruction,' Māg. Prāk., Pāli *khaya*, Hindī, Panj. *chai*, Guj. *khē*, Mar. *khāi*. Skt.,

Prāk., Pāli *bhaya* 'fear,' Uṛ. *bhē*, Hindī, Panj. *bhāi*, Sindhī *bhāi*, *bhāu*, Mar. *bhē*. Skt. *nayana* 'eye,' Prāk. *ṇaṇa*, Pāli *nayana*, Hindī, Panj. *nāin*, Sindhī *nēṇu*, Guj. *nēnam*, *nēnn*. Skt. *maya* 'mother,' Sinh. *mañṇiyam*. Skt. *śayanāsana* 'bed-room,' Pāli *sayanāsana*, Sinh. *senasun*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paourva* 'former' + *ayarə* 'day,' Phl., New Pers. *parēr*, Kāš. *parē*, Bal. *parērī*, *pairērī* 'last year,' N. Bal. *phairī*. Av. *zayeiti* 'is born,' Pāmir dialects *zīd*.

ayū > ō.

§ 343. The contraction of *ayū* to *ō* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mayūra* 'peacock,' Prāk., Pāli *mōra*, Kāśm., Uṛ. *mōr*, Sindhī *mōru*, Guj., Mar. *mōr*.

ayō > ē, āi.

§ 344. The contraction of *ayō* to *ē, āi*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, *tēdasa* (inscriptions of Khālsi), *trāidasa* (inscriptions of Girnar), Pāli *tērasa*, Kāśm. *truvāh*, Uṛ. *tēra*, Bang. *tērō*, Hindī *tērah*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhī *tērahām*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*.

iya > ĩ.

§ 345. The contraction of *iya* to *ĩ* is a rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *kīyant* 'how much?' Pāli *kittaka* < **kīyat-taka*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *priya* 'beloved,' Av. *frya*, New Pers. *frī*.

āya > ā.

§ 346. The contraction of *āya* to *ā* seems to be the most usual one to which *āya* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāyasa* 'aerial,' Jaina Prāk., Pāli *vēhāsa*. Skt. *upatthāyaka* 'servant,' Pāli *upatthāka*. Skt. *kālāyasa* 'iron,' Pāli *kālāsa*, *kālāyasa*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyaθiya* 'king,' Phl., New Pers. *šāh*.

āya > *ē*

§ 347. The contraction of *āya* to *ē* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *palāyati* 'flees,' Māhār. Prāk. *palāyai*, Pāli *palēti*.

āya > *aī*.

§ 348. The contraction of *āya* to *aī* is found in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasnāyanta* 'they washed,' Dig. Oss. *axsnun*, Tag. *axsnin* 'wash,' Tag. *naīn* 'bathe.' Skt. *rāyati* 'bellows,' Oss. *raīn*.

r = *r*.

§ 349. Indo-Iranian *r* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēkhā* 'streak,' Prāk. *rēhā*, Pāli *rēkhā*, Hindī, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhī *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, Mar. *rē(g)h*. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, Māg. Prāk. *lāā*, Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, Pāiś. Prāk. *rājā*, Cūlikapāiś. Prāk. *rācā*, Pāli *rājan*, Hindī *rāū*, *rāv*, Simh. *rada*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *kappūra*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *kapūr*, Mar. *kāpūr*. Skt. *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pāli *sasura*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāuhurā*, Sindhī *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roy*, Minj. *rayan*, Kurd. *rūn*. Av., Old Pers. *rāsta* 'right,' Phl., New Pers. *rāst*, Oss. *rast*, *rasth*. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(īh)*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Caspian dialects *rū*, but Kāš. *rū*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Afy. *rvaḡ*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruž*, *rō(ž)*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Phl. *stārak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Wāxī *stār*, Šīyn. *štarj*, Sarq. *xturj*, Sangl. *ustūrak*, Minj. *astāri*, Afy. *stōrai*, Kurd. *istirk*, Zaza *astar*, Oss. *stali*. Av. *xʷaraiti* 'eats,' Old Pers. *μαρτι-χόρα*, Phl. *xʷartānō*, New Pers. *xurdan*, Kāš. *xūrtan*, Šīyn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *xʷaram*, Minj. *xaram*, Afy. *xʷaral*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, Kurd. *xurin*, *xʷārīn*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*.

$r > j$.

§ 350. The change of r to j is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *pūraṇa* 'fulfilment,' Hindī *pūjna*, Sindhī *pujāṇu*.

$r > ḍh$.

§ 351. The change of r to $ḍh$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ārabdha* 'beginning,' Prāk. *āḍhatta*, *āraddha*, Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *āraddha*. [See now Pischel, § 223.]

$r > d$.

§ 352. The change of r to d is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *purandara* 'epithet of Indra,' Pāli *purindaḍa*, *purinda* (by assimilation or false analogy).

$r > n$.

§ 353. The change of r to n is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *dārayāmiy* 'I hold,' Phl., New Pers. *dāram*, Wāxī *vaḍūram*, Sarq. *ḍoram*, Lād. *dānam*. Phl., New Pers. *mār* 'serpent,' Afy. *mangarai*.

$r > l$.

§ 354. The change of r to l is by far the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian r is subject, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Māgadhī Prākrit r becomes l everywhere. Similarly in the Prākrit of the inscriptions of Dhauli, Jaugada, Khālsi, Bhabra, Sahasarām, and Bairāt r becomes l throughout, but in the inscriptions of Rūpnāth r occurs twice.

a. Indian. Skt. *ratnī* 'night,' Prāk. *rattī*, *rāī*, Māg. Prāk. *lattī*, Pāli *rattī*, Ur., Bang. *rāt(i)*, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *rāt*, Sindhī *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*. Skt. *caraṇa* 'foot,' Prāk. *calaṇa*, Śāur. Prāk. also *caraṇa*, Apab. Prāk. *calaṇu*, Pāis. Prāk. *calaṇa*, Pāli *caraṇa*. Skt. *hāridra* 'yellow,' Prāk., Pāli *hālidda*. Skt. *parigha* 'iron bar,' Pāli *paligha*. Skt. *rējju* 'string,' Ass. *lēju*, E. Hindī *lējurī*. Skt. *cātvarīmśat* 'forty,' Prāk. *cattātisa*,

cāālisa, Pāli *cattālisa*, *cattarisa*, Kāsm. *čatajih*, Uṛ. *cāliša*, Bang. *calliša*, Bihārī *cālis*, Hindī *cālis*, Panj. *cālī*, Sindhī *cālīh*, Guj., Mar. *cālīs*, Sinh. *hataliha*, *sataliha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raēcayaṭ* 'poured,' Phl. *rēxtanō*, Pāz. *rēžēd*, New Pers. *rēxtan*, Gab. *rētmān*, Vōn. *rētan*, Wāxī *varicam*, Sarq. *varaizam*, Bal. *rēcag*, N. Bal. *rīšay*, Kurd. *rētin*, Dig. Oss. *lējūn*, Tag. *lījīn*. Av. *vārayna* 'raven,' Phl. *vālay*, *vāray*, *vārak*. Av. (*spa*) *taurunō* 'puppy,' Phl. *taruk*, *tūruk*, *tōruk*, *tōrak*, New Pers. *tōlah*, *tōrah*, Gab. *tōrah*, Kāš. *tōra*, *tūra*, *tura*, Bal. *tōlag*, N. Bal. *thōlay*, Kurd. *tūra*. New Pers. *sūrāx* 'hole,' Judaeo-Pers. *sūlāx*, Afy. *sūrai*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl., New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrik*, Vōn. *mōrcuna*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *maljig*. Av., Phl., New Pers. *nar* 'man,' Sangl. *narak*, Afy., Bal., Kurd. *nar*, Dig. Oss. *nala*, Tag. *nal*.

$r > l$.

§ 355. The change of *r* to *l* is not a very frequent one. It is, of course, confined to the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṅgāra* 'coal,' Prāk. *iṅgālā*, Pāli *aṅgāra*, Guj. *iṅgārō*, *aṅgārō*, Mar. *iṅgāl(ā)*, *iṅgōl*, Gyp. *angār*. Skt. *catvāriṃśat* 'forty,' Pāli *cattālisa*, *cattārisa*, Panj. *cālī*, Sinh. *hataliha*, *sataliha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kṣāra* 'ashes,' Prāk. *chāra*, Pāli *khāra*, *chārika*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, but Sindhī *chāru*, Sinh. (*h*)*aḷu*, Maladive *hulu*.

Syncope of r.

§ 356. The loss of an original *r* is infrequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *param*, *parē* 'beyond,' Māg. Prāk. *palē*, Apab. Prāk. *pali*, Bihārī *pāi*. Skt. *durōsārīta* 'duly and unduly restored,' Pāli *dōsarīta*.

b. Iranian. Pāz., New Pers. *agar* 'if,' Sīv. *ay*. New Pers. *kar* 'make!' Gab. *kar*, Central dialects *ka*, Kāš. *ki*, Nāy. *nika*. New Pers. *bar* 'bear!' Zaf. *bar*, Kāš. *ba*, Vōn. *bar*, Kuhr., Kurd.

ba. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *māt(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab. *māye*, Kāš. *maī*, *mōya*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gil. *mōr*, *māar*, Tal. *mū*, Šīyn. *mād*, Minj. *māyā*, Afy. *mōr*, Bal. *māt*, N. Bal. *māθ*, *mās*, Kurd. *māk*, Dig. Oss. *mada*, Tag. *mād*.

Epenthesis of r.

§ 357. Epenthetic *r* occurs in the Indo-Iranian dialects very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṭi* 'ten millions,' Māg. Prāk. *kōḍi*, Bihārī *karōr*, *karōr*, Hindī *krōr*, Anglo-Ind. *crore*. Skt. *vyāsa* nom. prop., Apab. Prāk. *vrāsu*. Skt. *blāṣya* 'commentary,' Prāk. *bhrāsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tašaṭ* 'shaped,' archaic New Pers. *tāšitan*, Afy. *tarxaj*. Av. *baxta* 'fate,' Phl., New Pers. *baxt*, Afy. *barxa*, *braxa*. Av. *aži dahāka* nom. prop., Phl. *ažē dahāk*, New Pers. *aždahā* 'dragon,' Kurd. *aždarha*, *aždaha*.

l = l.

§ 358. Indo-Iranian *l* is in general preserved unchanged in the Indian dialects. In Old Iranian Indo-Iranian *l* was entirely lost, excepting in the foreign proper names *haldita* and *dubāla* in the Old Persian inscriptions. In the Middle and New Iranian *l* reappears, sometimes representing Indo-Iranian *l*, and sometimes Indo-Iranian *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lagna* 'attached,' Prāk., Pāli *lagga*, Hindī *lagā*, *lāg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*. Skt. *limpati* 'smears,' Prāk. *limpai*, Pāli *limpati*, Uṛ. *lip*, Bang. *lēp*, Hindī *līp*, *lēp*, Panj. *lipp*, *limb*, *limm*, Sindhī *limb*, Guj. *lip*, Mar. *lēp*. Skt. *āmalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *āmalaa*, Pāli *āmalaka*, Uṛ. *āmalā*, Bang. *āolā*, *āulā*, Hindī *ānvalā*, Panj. *āulā*, Sindhī *āmīrō*, Mar. *ānvalā*. Skt. *calati* 'wanders,' Prāk. *calaī*, Pāli *calati*, Uṛ., Bang. *cāl*, Hindī *cal*, Marw. *car*, Panj. *call*, Sindhī *cal*, Guj., Mar. *cāl*, *cal*. Skt., Pāli *pippala* 'sort of tree,' Bang. *pippal*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *pīpar*, Panj. *pippal*, Sindhī *pīpiru*, Guj. *pīpal*, Mar. *pīmpal*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Kāš. *lav*, Tāt *lov*, Wāxī *lav*, *lafē*, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv* (cf. Lat. *labium*, Anglo-Saxon *lippa*). Phl. *lištanō* 'lick,' New Pers. *lištan*, Zaf., Kāš. *balēs*, Wāxī *lixam* (cf. Skt. *lēhmi*, *rēhmi* 'I lick,' Gk. *λείχω*, Lith. *lēziù*, O. H. Germ. *leckōn*). Av. *garah* 'throat,' Phl. *garūk*, New Pers. *gulū*, *galū*, Sangl. *γar*, Afγ. *γāra*, Kurd. *garu* (cf. Skt. *gala*, Lat. *gula*, O. H. Germ. *kēla*).

$l > \check{d}$.

§ 359. The change of *l* to \check{d} is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *palāśa* 'green,' Śāk. Prāk. *paḍāśa*. Skt. *lalāṭa*, *rarāṭa* 'forehead,' Prāk. *ṇiḍāla*, Pāli *lalāṭa*, *nalāṭa* (cf. lexicog. Skt. *niṭala*). Skt. *tāla* 'palmyra-palm,' Pāli *tāla*, U_ṛ. *tāl*, Bang. *tāl*, other New Ind. dialects *tād*, *tār*.

$l > n$.

§ 360. The change of *l* to *n* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects. In U_ṛiya and Bangālī initial *l* is almost always pronounced *n*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṃgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *naṃgala*, *laṃgala*, Pāli *naṃgala*, Bihārī *lāṃgal*, Mar. *nāṃgar*, Siṃh. *nagula*, *nagala*. Skt. *lalāṭa*, *rarāṭa* 'forehead,' Prāk. *ṇiḍāla*, Pāli *nalāṭa*, *lalāṭa*. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kāśm., U_ṛ., Bang. *nūn*, *lōṇ*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindi *nōn*, *nūn*, *lūn*, Panj. *nūṇ*, Sindhī *lūṇu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *luṇṭ(h)ā* 'robbery,' U_ṛ. *nuṭī*, Hindi *lūṭ*, Anglo-Ind. *loot*. Skt. *dēhālī* 'threshold,' Pāli *dēhani*. Skt. *jambūla* 'rose-apple tree,' Bihārī *jāmun*.

$l > r$.

§ 361. The change of *l* to *r* is the most frequent of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *l* is subject. In Old Iranian, as already noted in § 358, original *l* has become *r* throughout.

a. Indian. Skt. *yāmala* 'pair,' Jāina Prāk. *yāvāra*, Pāli *yamala*. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*. Skt. *pippala* 'sort of tree,' E. Hindī *pīpar*, Sindhī *pīpiru*, etc. (see § 358).

Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pāli *sāmala*, E. Hindī *sāmvar*, Hindī *sāmvalā*, W. Hindī *sāmvrāū*, Panj. *sāmvalā*, Sindhī *sāmviru*, *sāmvalu*, Mar. *sāmvalā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *phāla* 'plough,' New Pers. *supār*, Sarq. *spur*, Afy. *spāra*. Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpas*, *lōpas*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Gab. *ruvās*, Sarq. *rapč*, Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robās*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *likṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afy. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liska*, Tag. *lisk*.

$l > \underline{l}$.

§ 362. The change of *l* to \underline{l} occurs frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *kāla* 'black,' Pāli *kāla*, U_r. *kalā*, Bang., Hindī *kalā*, Panj. *kālā*, Sindhī *kārō*, Guj. *kālō*, Mar. *kālā*, Sinh., Maladive *kalu*. Skt. *sthala* 'place,' U_r, Panj. *thal*, Sindhī *tharu*, Guj., Mar. *thal*. Skt. *ṭalati* 'totters,' U_r. *ṭal*, Bang., Hindī *ṭal*, Panj. *ṭal*, Sindhī *ṭil*, *ṭar*, Guj., Mar. *ṭal*.

Syncope of l.

§ 363. The syncope of an original *l* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiñculaka* 'earth-worm,' Māg. Prāk. *kiñculaē*, Bihārī *kēñcuvā*, *kēñcvā*. Skt. *balivarda* 'bull,' Prāk. *baṛilla*, Pāli *balivadda*. Skt. *khalu* 'indeed,' Prāk. (*k*)*khu*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions *khō*, *ku*, Pāli *khō*.

$v = v$.

§ 364. Indo-Iranian *v* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vartikā* 'wick,' Prāk. *vattiā*, Pāli *vattikā*, U_r. *bati*, Bang. *bātī*, Hindī, Panj. *batti*, Sindhī *vaṭi*, Guj. *bati*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *vr̥ścika* 'scorpion,' Prāk. *viñchia*, *viñchua*, *viñcua*, *viñcua*, Pāli *vicchika*, U_r. *bichū(ā)*, Bang. *bichā*, Hindī *bichūā*, Panj. *bicchū*, Sindhī *bichūn*, *viñchū*, Guj. *viñchū*, *vichu*, Mar. *viñcū*. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prāk. *paūṇa*, Pāli *pavana*, Kāśm.

pāvan, Ur., Bang. *paban*, other New Indian dialects *pavan*, also Hindī *paūn*, Panj. *paūṇ*, Guj. *pōṇ*. Skt. *navati* 'ninety,' Prāk. *naūim*, Pāli *navuti*, Kāśm. *namath*, Ur. *nabā*, Bang. *nabbaī*, Bihārī *nabbē*, Hindī, Panj. *navvē*, Sindhī *navē*, Guj. *nēvum*, Mar. *navvad*.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəcaṇhvant* 'glorious,' Phl. *varc*, *varj*, New Pers. *varj*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vād*, Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *va*, Tāt *vār*, Afγ. *vō*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *grās*, Kurd. *vāi*, *bā*, Tag. Oss. *vād*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gīl. *varf*, Tāl. *vā*, Judaeo-Pers. *vahr*, Sangl. *varf*, Minj. *varfa*, Afγ. *vāvra*, Kurd. *vafr*, Zaza *vaura*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak*, *nōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Gab. *nova*, Kāš., Šīyn. *nav*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afγ. *navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxī *līv*, Šīyn. *δīv*, Sarq. *δēv*.

v > *ñ*.

§ 365. The vocalization or samprasāraṇa of original *v* to *ñ* is a rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prāk. *paūṇa*, Hindī *paūn*, *pavan*, Panj. *paūṇ*, *pavan*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dēva* 'god,' New Ind. dialects *dēv*, also Ur., Bang. *dē*, Hindī *dēō*, *dēū*, Panj., Sindhī *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *del*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēnaiti* 'sees,' Old Pers. *vaināhy*, Phl. *vēnaṭ*, New Pers. *bīnad*, Wāxī, Šīyn. *vīnam*, Sarq. *vainam*, Afγ. *vīnam*, Dig. Oss. *vinun*, Tag. *unin*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Sīv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kāš. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šīyn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yangg*, Yayn. *yau*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukrī *yō*, Oss. *yau*. Av. *avivanta* 'bevomited,' archaic New Pers. *vāmītan*, Dig. Oss. *vomun*, Tag. *ūmin*.

v > *k*.

§ 366. The change of *v* to *k* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəda* 'plant,' Phl. *vartā*, *gul*, New Pers. *gul* 'rose,' Samn. *vāla*, Kurd. *kulilk*.

$v > g$.

§ 367. The change of v to g occurs regularly before u in Pāzand and New Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *vītarəta* 'crossed,' Old Pers. *viyatarayāma*, Phl. *vitārtanō*, New Pers. *guḏaštan*, Gab. *vadārta*, Vōn. *baidor-nan*, Kuhr. *baudarnādan*, Kurd. *buhūrtin*, *bahārtin*. Av. *vāhrka* 'wolf,' Phl., New Pers. *gurg*, Kāš. *var(g)*, Māz. *vurg*, Yidg. *vury*, Yayn. *aurak*, Afy. *lūg*, Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, N. Bal. *gurkh*, Kurd. *varg*, Dig. Oss. *bēray*, Tag. *bīray*. Av. *varətata* 'surrounding,' Phl. *vaštanō*, *gaštanō*, New Pers. *gāštan*, Gab. *vāštmūn*, Sarq. *γirsam*, Kurd. *gariyān*. Av. *vərəzyeiti* 'does,' Phl. *varz* 'agriculture,' New Pers. *barz*, Judaeo-Pers. *varz*, Kurd. *gūrān*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vīst*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaṣ*.

It is to be noted also that Old Pers. *vi* > Mid. Pers. **vu* > Pāz., New Pers. *gu*, and that Old Pers. **vr* > Mid. Pers. **vur* > Pāz., New Pers. *gur*.

$v > gh, \gamma$.

§ 368. The change of v to gh, γ , is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *varətata* 'surrounding,' Sarq. *γirsam*, etc. (see preceding §).

$v > gv$.

§ 369. The change of v to gv is regular initially before a -vowels in Balūcī.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vāhrka* 'wolf,' Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, etc. (see § 367). Old Pers. *vasiy* 'much,' Phl. *vas*, New Pers. *bas*, Kāš. *vas*, Bal. *gvas*.

$v > n$.

§ 370. The change of v to n is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Bihārī *ninānabē* (assimilation).

$v > ph, f$.

§ 371. The change of v to ph, f , is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *ava* 'this,' Pāz. *ō*, New Pers. *av*, *ō*, Kurd. *af*, *ava*, *āv*.

v > *b*.

§ 372. The change of *v* to *b* is extremely common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects (cf. the converse change of *b* to *v*, § 308).

a. Indian. Skt. *svr̥ṣṭi* 'abundance of rain,' Pāli *subbutṭhi*. Skt. *vaṣpa* 'tear, vapor,' Prāk. *bapp(h)a* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' Śāur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kāśm. *bāha*, Uṛ., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindī *bā(n)ph*, Hindī *bā(n)ph*, *bhāph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *bāph*, Guj. *bā(n)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *vēṣṭa* 'enclosure,' Pāli *vēṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kāśm. *vār*, *vād*, Uṛ. *bēḍhā*, *bhēḍā*, Bang. *bēḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *bēḍhā*, Sindhī *vaḍēhō*, Mult. *vēr̥hā*, Mar. *vēḍhā*. Skt. *puravāsīn* 'citizen,' Bihārī *purabāsī*. Skt. *vṛddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuddha*, Pāli *buddha*, *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kāśm. *bor*, *boḍ*, Uṛ., Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindī *barā*, *barā*, *baddā*, Hindī *baḍā*, Panj. *vaḍḍā*, W. Panj. *baḍḍā*, Sindhī *vaḍō*, Guj. *vaḍō*, Gyp. *baro*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *virala* 'thin,' Simh. *burul*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vīd*, Kāš. *vīd*, *vēt*, Afy. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēō*, Kurd. *bī*, *vī*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' New Pers. *bīst*, etc. (see § 367). Av. *vāta* 'wind,' New Pers. *bād*, Kurd. *bā*, *vai*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vāra* 'rain,' Phl. *vārān*, New Pers. *bārān*, Gab. *bavāra*, Kāš. *vōrūn*, Māz. *vāriš*, Wāxī *vūr*, Sarq. *varaij*, *varaša*, Afy. *varyaḡ*, *varyaz*, Kurd. *bārī(n)*, Lurī, Zaza *varān*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Av. *vana* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *bun*, Afy. *vana*, Bal. *gran*, *gōn*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Av. *husravah* 'having fair fame,' Phl. *hūs-rōb*, New Pers. *xusrav*.

v > *bh*.

§ 373. The change of *v* to *bh* is quite common in the Indian dialects, being the sound considered in the preceding paragraph further influenced by a neighbouring sibilant, aspirate or *h*.

a. Indian. Skt. *vaṣpa* 'tear, vapor,' Ass. *bhāp*, U_r. Bang., *bhāp*, Hindī *bhāph*, *bā(n)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vēṣṭa* 'enclosure,' U_r. *bhēḍā*, *bēḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

v > m.

§ 374. The change of *v* to *m* is not common in the Indian dialects, while in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yāvat* 'how long,' *tāvat* 'so long,' Apab. Prāk. *jāma*, *jāum*, *jāmahim*, *tāma*, *tāum*, *tāmahim*, Pāli *yāva*, *tāva*. Skt. *vaiśravaṇa* nom. prop., Jaina Prāk. *vēsamaṇa*. Skt. *viñaptika* 'request,' Bang. *minati*, E. Hindī *mintī*, Hindī *minnat*, *bintī*, Panj. *minnat*, Sindhī *minti*. Skt. *nava* 'nine,' Prāk. *ṇava*, Pāli *nava*, Kaśm. *nāu(n)*, U_r. *naa*, Bang. *nay*, Bihārī, Hindī *nāu*, Panj. *nāum*, *naūm*, Sindhī *naṁvaṁ*, Guj., Mar. *nav*, Sinh. *nama*, *nava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pairi* 'around' + √*varəz* 'do,' New Pers. *parvāz* 'plough,' Bux. *parmāz*. Skt. *vartikā* 'partridge,' Phl. *varṭak*, New Pers. *vardij*, Wāxī *volc*, Afγ. *marāz*, *nvarāz*, Bal. *gvardāg*, Kurd. *vardī*.

v > y.

§ 375. The apparent change of *v* to *y* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects (cf. the following §).

a. Indian. Skt. *pravartati* 'proceeds,' Prāk. *payattai*. Skt. *divā* 'by day,' Jaina Prāk. *diyā*. Skt. *dāva* 'forest,' Pāli *dāya*. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Prāk. *dēara*, *diara*, *dēvara*, U_r. *dēyara*, *dēyura*, Bang. *dēyar*, Hindī, Panj. *dēvar*, Sindhī *ḍēru*, Guj. *dēr*, *dēur*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dīr*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *juṭanō* 'gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvīdan*, Afγ. *žōyal*, *žōval*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāy*, Kurd. *jū(i)n*.

Syncope of v.

376. Syncope of *v* is not common in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Prāk. *jīa*, Pāli *jīva*. Skt. *divasa*

'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Jaina Prāk., Pāli *divasa*, Sindhi *ḍimhu*, Mar. *divas*, Sinh. *davas*, *divas*. Skt. *trayōviṃśati* 'twenty-three,' Prāk. *tēvīsa*, Pāli *tēvīsa(tī)*, Bihārī *tēis*, and similarly the other New Ind. dialects, excepting Sindhi *ṭrēvīli*, Guj. *trēvīś*, Mar. *tēvīs*. Skt. *upaviṣṭa* 'seated,' Prāk. *ubaviṭṭha*, *uvaṭṭha*, Pāli *upaviṭṭha*, Hindī, Panj. *bāiṭh*, Guj. *bēs*, Mar. *bēḥhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāv* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gāv*, *gō*, Zaf., Kāš., Vōn. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxī *γau*, *γū*, Šiyn. *žāv*, Sarq. *žao*, Sangl., Minj. *γao*, Yaɣn. *gova*, Afɣ. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *qūg*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Sīv. *yu*, Kāš. *ya*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, Mukri *yō*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *viśaiti* 'twenty,' Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaǰ*, etc. (see § 367). Av. *baēvarə* 'ten thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *bēvar*, Dig. Oss. *bēura*, *bēra*, Tag. *bira*.

Prothesis of v.

§ 377. Prothetic *v* occurs occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ucyatē* 'is said,' Prāk. *vuccaī*, Śāur., Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Pāli *vuccati*. Skt. *ukta* 'said,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *vuta*. Skt. *uṣita* 'inhabited' beside *vasita*, Pāli *vuttha*, *vusita*.

b. Iranian. Av. *azəm* 'I,' Old Pers. *adam*, Tāl. *az*, Wāxī, Šiyn. *vuz*, Sarq. *vaz*, Yidg. *zuh*, Afɣ. *za*, Kurd., Oss. *az*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxī *hāθ*, Šiyn. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yaɣn. *uxs*, Afɣ. *ata*, Oss. *asth*. Gk. *ὠόν* 'egg,' Lat. *ovum*, Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuk*, Afɣ. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *haʿik*, *hī*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*.

Epenthesis of v.

§ 378. Epenthetic *v* is of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhā*, *chāyā*, Pāli *chāyā*, Ur. *chāhīna*, Hindī *chām̐v*, *chām̐(h)*, *chāōm̐*, Panj. *cā(ī)m*, Sindhi *chām̐v*, *chām̐*, Guj. *cāmy*.

āvā > ā.

§ 379. The loss of Indo-Iranian *v*, which has been noted in § 376, gives rise to various contractions in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The contraction of *āvā* to *ā* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *prabhavāmi* 'am able,' Prāk. *pabhavaī*, Pāli *pabhavāmi*, Gāthā *prabhāmi*. Skt. *sambhavanti* 'are able,' Prāk. *sambhavaī*, Pāli *sambhavati*, Gāthā *sambhānti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *srāvayeiti* 'chants,' Phl. *srāyať*, New Pers. *srāyad*, Wāxī *širavam*, Sarq. *našravam*. Av. *bavāt* 'may be,' New Pers. *bād*.

ava > ũ.

§ 380. The contraction of *ava* to *ũ* occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kaśm., Uṛ. Bang. *nūn*, *lōṇ*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindī *nūn*, *lūn*, *nōn*, Panj. *nūṇ*, Sindhī *lūṇu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *avajñā* 'contempt,' Pāli *uññā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *avasthita* 'firm,' New Pers. *ustām*, *ōstām*.

ava > ē.

§ 381. The contraction of *ava* to *ē* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *avalambati* 'hangs down,' Elu *elabanavā*, Simh. *ellanavā*, *elvān*, *olambu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navani* 'nine,' Old Pers. *navama*, Pāz., New Pers. *nuh*, Kāš. *mukhdō*, Tāt *nūf*, Wāxī, Šiyn. *nao*, Sarq. *nav*, Sangl., Minj. *nao*, Yayn. *nau*, Kurd. *nēh*.

ava > ō.

§ 382. The contraction of *ava* to *ō* is the normal one to which *ava* is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kaśm., Uṛ., Bang. *lōṇ*, *nūn*, Bihārī *nōn*, *lōn*, Hindī *nōn*, *lūn*, *nūn*, Panj. *nūn*,

Sindhī *lūṇu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *hōi*, Śāur. Prāk. (*b*)*hōdi*, (*b*)*huvadi*, (*b*)*havadi*, Māg. Prāk. (*b*)*havaṇ*, *huvāi*, Apab. Prāk. *hōdi*, Pāis. Prāk. *bhōti*, Pāli *bhavati*, *hōti*, Gāthā *bhōti*, New Ind. dialects *hō*, excepting Ur. *hē*, Sindhī *hua*, Skt. *samavasṛṣṭa* 'assembled,' Jaina Prāk. *samōsaḍha*, Pāli *samōsaṭa*. Skt. *avāra* 'lower,' Pāli *ōra*. Skt. *avavāda* 'counsel,' Pāli *ōvāda*, Sinh. *ovā*. Skt. *avaśyāya* 'hoar-frost,' Bang. *ōṣ*, Hindī, Panj., Guj. *ōs*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pravatā* 'downwards,' Phl. *frōt*, New Pers. *furōd*, Sarq. *prōd*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *nōk*, *navak*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Tag. Oss. *nvog*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *avaḍa* 'there,' Old Pers. *avadā*, Bal. *ōdā*, N. Bal. *ōḍā*, Tag. Oss. *vad*. Av. *navaiti* 'ninety,' Phl. *navat*, New Pers. *navad*, Afy. *navē*, Kurd. *nōt*, *nūd*.

āva > au.

§ 383. The contraction of *āva* to *au* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Apab. Prāk. *dhavalu*, Ur., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindī *dhāulā*, Sindhī *dhāunrō*, Guj. *dhōlun*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhaval*. Skt. *avatāra* 'descent,' Pāli *ōtāra*, *avatāra*, Sindhī *āutāru*, *avatār*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Sarq. *yaugj*, Yaṣn. *yau*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Oss. *yau*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Wāxī *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, Oss. *sau*.

avi > ē.

§ 384. The contraction of *avi* to *ē* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyē* 'I shall be,' Gāthā *bhēṣyē*. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thēra*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *thāira*, Pāli *thēra*, Mar. *thēr(aḍā)*.

avi > āi.

§ 385. The contraction of *avi* to *āi* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thāira* (inscriptions of Girnar), *thēra*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\bar{a}va > \bar{o}$.

§ 386. The contraction of $\bar{a}va$ to \bar{o} is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *zavarə* 'might,' Phl. *gōr(īh)*, New Pers. *zōr*.

$\bar{a}vay > \bar{e}, ai$.

§ 387. The contraction of $\bar{a}vay$ to \bar{e}, ai , is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kāvaya* 'royal,' Phl. *kē, kai*, Pāz., New Pers. *kai*.

$\bar{a}vi > \bar{a}$.

§ 388. The contraction of $\bar{a}vi$ to \bar{a} is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *āviṣkṛta* 'manifest,' Phl. *āṣkārāk*, New Pers. *āṣkār(ā)*, *āṣkārāh*, Afγ. *xkāra*.

$i\bar{v}\bar{a} > \bar{o}$.

§ 389. The contraction of $i\bar{v}\bar{a}$ to \bar{o} is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativāsin* 'neighbour,' New Indian dialects *parōsī*, *paḍōsī*, *parōsī*.

$i\bar{v}\bar{e} > \bar{o}$.

§ 390. The contraction of $i\bar{v}\bar{e}$ to \bar{o} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativēṣayati* 'distributes,' Bihārī *parōsāi*.

$\bar{i}va > \bar{i}$.

§ 391. The contraction of $\bar{i}va$ to \bar{i} is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Old Pers. *jīvāhy*, Phl. *zīvas-tanō*, New Pers. *zīstan*, Kurd. *zīn*, *zīin*. Phl. *dipīvar* 'scribe,' *dipīr(īh)*, New Pers. *dibīr*.

$\bar{e}v\check{a} > \bar{i}$.

§ 392. The contraction of $\bar{e}v\check{a}$ to \bar{i} is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Mar. *dīr*, *dēvar*, etc. (see § 375).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *dēvānah* 'bedevilled,' Kurd. *dīn*.

uva > *ā*.

§ 393. The contraction of *uva* to *ā* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yvan* 'youth,' Phl. *yuvān*, New Pers. *jūvān-mard*, Kurd. *jānmardī*.

uva > *ū*, *ō*.

§ 394. The contraction of *uva* to *ū*, *ō*, is the normal one to which *uva* is subject.

b. Iranian. Iran. **vadhuvakā* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō(g)*, Kurd. *būk*. Av. *drvatāt* 'health,' Phl. *drūt*, Pāz. *durūd*, New Pers. *durūd*.

ś = *ś*.

§ 395. Indian *ś* is retained but seldom in the Indian dialects. In the Middle Indian dialects the Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, Avantikā, and Śākārī alone preserve *ś*. Of the New Indian dialects Gujarātī and Marāṭhī often retain *ś*, although great confusion in the use of *ś* and *s* prevails. Hindī and Sindhī indeed write *ś*, but pronounce the *ś* as *s*, while in Bangālī *ś* is pronounced *ṣ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *sa(y)a*, Pāś. Prāk. *sata*, Māg. Prāk. *śada*, Pāli *sata*, Ass. *sa*, Kaśm. *hat*, Uṛ. *śaē*, Bang. *śaya*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēm*, *śambhar*, Guj. *šel*. Skt. *śīṛsa* 'head,' Prāk. *sīsa*, *sissa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sīsī*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śi(m)s*, Elu *hisa*, Sinh. *isa*, *iha*. Skt. *aśīti* 'eighty,' Prāk. *asīi*, Pāli *asīti*, Ass. *ṣīt*, Kaśm. *śīth*, Uṛ. *aśī*, Bang. *āśī*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *assī*, Sindhī *asī*, Guj. *ēmsī*, Mar. *ēmśī*. Skt. *dēśīya* 'native,' Pāli *dēśīya*, Uṛ., Bang. *dēśī(ya)*, Hindī, Panj. *dēsī*, Sindhī *ḍēsī*, *ḍēhāī*, Guj., Mar. *dēsī*.

ś > *ch*.

§ 396. The change of *ś* to *ch* occurs quite frequently in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāvaka* 'young animal,' Prāk. *chāvaa*, Pāli *chāpa*, Uṛ. *ch(u)ā*, Bang. *chā(m)*, Hindī *chōkaḍā*, Panj. *chōkaḍā*, *chōharā*, Sindhī *chōkaḍō*, Guj. *chāvō*, *chōkarō*, Mar. *chāvaḍā*, Gyp.

chavō. Skt. *śakṛt* 'once,' Pāli *chakam*. Skt. *śēṣa* 'end,' Prāk., Pāli *sēsa*, Guj. *chēvat*, *chēḍō*, *chellō*. Skt. *śaṇa* 'hemp,' Uṛ. *chaṇa*, Bang. *chana*.

ś > ḍ.

§ 397. The change of *ś* to *ḍ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāka* 'pot-herb,' Pāli *ḍāka*, *sāka*, Kaśm. *hāk* (cf. Skt. *ḍākinī* 'sort of female demon' beside *śākinī*).

ś > y.

§ 398. The change of *ś* to *y* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvādaśanavārṣa* 'twelfth year,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *barayavaṣa*, (Dhauri, Jaugada) *duvādasa-vāsa*, (Girnar) *dvādasavasa*, (Khālsi) *duvāḍasāvasa*.

ś > v.

§ 399. The change of *ś* to *v* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paraśu* 'axe,' Māhār. Prāk. *parasu*, Siṁh. *porava*, Maladive *furō*. [Really syncope of *ś* (cf. § 402).]

ś > s.

§ 400. The change of *ś* to *s* is the regular one to which Indian *ś* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects with the exception of the dialects already noted in § 395.

a. Indian. Skt. *śōbhati* 'is beautiful,' Prāk. *sōhaṛi*, Pāis. Prāk. *sōbhati*, Pāli *sobbhati*. Skt. *śūsruṣā* 'obedience,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Shāhbāzgarhi and Kapur di Giri) *suśruṣā*, Pāli *sussusā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *sa(y)a*, Pāis. Prāk., Pāli *sata*, Ass. *sa*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *aśīti* 'eighty,' Prāk. *asīi*, Pāli *asīti*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *assī*, Sindhī *asī*, Guj. *emsī*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śilā* 'stone,' Prāk. *silā*, Māg. Prāk. *śilā*, Pāli *silā*, Uṛ. *śīla*, Bang. *śil*, Hindī *sil*, Panj. *sil*, Sindhī *sir*, Mar. *sil*.

ś > h.

§ 401. The change of *ś* to *h* is quite common in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prāk. *daha*, *dasa*, Pāli *dasa*, Kāśm. *dah*, Uṛ., Bang. *daś*, *das*, Hindī *das*, Panj. *dah*, *das*, Sindhī *dah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahā*, Sinh. *dahaya*, *dasa*, Gyp. *deṣ*. Skt. *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pāli *sasura*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāuharā*, Sindhī *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*, Gyp. *saṣtrō*, *sasrō*. Skt. *paśu* 'cattle,' Hindī (Doab, Oude) *pōhē*. Skt. *kēśarī* 'lion,' Prāk., Pāli *kēsari*, Bihārī *kēharī*, *kēsari*, Hindī *kēharī*, Panj. *kēhar*, Sindhī *kēharī*, Guj. *kēsari*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Prāk., Pāli *pāsa*, Hindī *pās*, *phāms*, Panj. *pāh*, Sindhī *phāhī*, *phāsī*, Guj. *pās*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Elu *hisa*, etc. (see § 395).

Apocope and syncope of ś.

§ 402. The loss of an initial or internal Indian *ś* occurs frequently in the Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Sinh. *isa*, *iha*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prāk., Pāli *siṅga*, Hindī *sīng*, Mar. *śiṅg*, Elu *sangu*, *aṅgu*, Sinh. *aṅga*, *si(m)gu*, *suṅgu*. Skt. *śīśira* 'cold,' Prāk., Pāli *sisira*, Sinh. *āl*, *hāl*. Skt. *laśuna* 'onion,' Pāli *lasuna*, Sinh. *lūnu*.

$$\text{ś} = \text{ṣ}.$$

§ 403. The retention of Indian *ṣ* is found only in Kāśmīrī, Uṛiya, and Bangālī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōlaha*, Pāli *sōlasa*, *sōrasa*, Kāśm. *ṣurāh*. Uṛ. *sōhala*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhī *sōraham*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*, Sinh. *solosa*. Skt. *mūṣa* 'mouse,' Uṛ. *mūṣā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *mūsā*, Gyp. *muṣō*.

$$\text{ṣ} > kh.$$

§ 404. In Hindī and Panjābī, as well as in other New Indian dialects in sporadic instances, Indian *ṣ* is pronounced *kh*, even if *ṣ* be retained in script.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāṣā* 'vernacular,' Prāk., Pāli *bhāsā*, Nāip.

bhās, *bhākkā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *bhākhā*. Skt. *mānuṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pāli *mānusa*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *mānukh*, Sindhī *mānukhu*, Gyp. *manuṣ*.

In the *tadbhava* forms of these semitatsamas we find, as we should expect, *bhāsā*, *mānus*, etc.

§ > *ch*.

§ 405. The change of § to *ch* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṣ* 'six,' Prāk., Pāli *cha*, Kāśm. *ṣah*, *śih*, Ur. *chaa*, Bang. *chaya*, Bihārī *cha*, Hindī *cha*, *chē*, Panj. *chē*, Sindhī *cha(h)*, Guj. *cha*, Mar. *sah(ā)*, Old Sinh. *caka*, Sinh. *haya*, *saya*, Gyp. *ṣo(v)*. Skt. *ṣatpada* 'bee,' Prāk. *chappaa*, Jaina Prāk. *chappaya*.

§ > *y*.

§ 406. The apparent change of § to *y* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karīṣa* 'dry cow-dung,' Prāk., Pāli *karīsa*, Sinh. *kiriya* (cf. § 422).

§ > *ś*.

§ 407. The change of § to *ś* occurs only in Middle Indian, where it is due to learned influence.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvēṣanti* 'they seek,' Māg. Prāk. *anṇēṣanti*. Skt. *ālabbhiṣyanti* 'they will be immolated,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *arabhiṣanti* (cf. the parallel passages *ārabhiṣamrē* Girnar, *ālabbhāyisaṃti* Dhaulī, *ālabbhiyisaṃti* Jaugada, *ālabbhiyisaṃti* Khālsi).

§ > *s*.

§ 408. The change of § to *s* is the normal one to which Indian § is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōḷaha*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, *sōrasa*, Ur. *sōhala*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhī *sōraham*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*, Sinh. *soḷosa*, etc. (see § 403). Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sām̐r*, Bang. *ṣam̐r*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sām̐r*, Panj. *sām̐dh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Mult. *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sām̐ḍ*. Skt. *vṛṣabha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasaha*,

usaha, Pāli *vasabha*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Hindī *puriṣ*, semitatsama *purukh*.

ś > h.

§ 409. The change of ś to h is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ekaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-one,' Jaina Prāk. *ēgahatṭhi*, *ēgasatṭhi*, *ēgayatṭhi*, *ēgavatṭhi*, *ēgatṭhi*, Kaśm. *ekahāiṭh*, Panj. *ikāhaṭ*, Sindhī *ekahathī*. Skt. *viṣa* 'poison,' Prāk., Pāli *visa*, Panj. *bih*, *bis*, Sindhī *viḥu*.

s = s.

§ 410. Indo-Iranian s is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects, while in the Iranian dialects Indo-Iranian s normally becomes h. Iranian s, arising from Indo-Germanic *ḱ* (Old Indian *ś*, see also §§ 395–402), remains unchanged in most cases in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptan* 'seven,' Prāk., Pāli *satta*, Kaśm. *sath*, Ur., Bang. *sāta* (pron. *ṣatō*), Bihārī, Hindī *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhī *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*. Skt. *siṃha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Māhār. Prāk. *siṃgha*, *siṃha*, Pāli *sīha*, Hindī, Panj. *siṃgh*, Sindhī *siṃghō*, *śiṃhu*, other New Ind. dialects *siṃh*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Prāk., Pāli *kappāsa*, Ur. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpās*, Hindī *kapās*, Panj., Sindhī *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*. Skt., Pāli *atasī* 'linseed,' Ur. *tēsī*, Bang. *tiśī*, E. Hindī *tīsī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarah* 'head,' Phl., New Pers. *sar*, Wāxī, Sangl., Minj. *sar*, Afy., Bal., Kurd., Oss. *sar*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxī *sūr(ī)*, Sarq. *pat-soram*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Phl. *kas*, Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kih*, Gab. *kasūk*, Zaf., Kāš. *kas*, Vön. *kassar*, Nāy. *kas*, Afy. *kašr*, Bal. *kas(s)ān*, Oss. *khashthar*. Av. *daśa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxī *das*, *las*, Šiyn. *dis*, *lis*, Sarq. *des*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yaṣn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Kurd. *dav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *paēsa* 'leprosy,' Old Pers. *πιδάγας*, Phl. *pēsak*, New Pers. *pēs*, Gab. *pīsk*, Afy. *pēs(ai)*, Kurd. *pis(aḡ)*.

$s > ch$.

§ 411. The change of s to ch is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *sudhā* 'ambrosia,' Prāk. *chuhā*, Pāli *sudhā*. Skt. *sirā* 'vein,' Prāk. *chirā*, *sirā*, Pāli *sirā*. Skt. *sūtradhāra* 'carpenter,' U_r., Bang. *chutār* (pron. *sutār*). Skt. *siñcati* 'sprinkles,' Prāk. *siñcāi*, Pāli *siñcati*, Bihārī *chīmcāi*, *siñcāi*, Mar. *siñcaṇēñ*.

$s > j(h)$.

§ 412. The change of s to $j(h)$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *haṃsa* 'goose,' Prāk., Pāli *haṃsa*, Hindi *hāms*, Sindhī *hamj(h)u*, Simh. *has*.

$s > t$.

§ 413. The change of s to t is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sax^rārō* 'word,' Phl. *saxun*, New Pers. *suxun*, Sīv. *tuxun*, Kāš. *suxan*. Gr. *κόπος* 'satiety,' New Pers. *sēr*, Kurd. *tēr* (Justi, Kurd. Gramm. 64, compares also the Av. ἄπ. λεγ. *θātairi*, Yt. x, 14).

$s > th, \theta$.

§ 414. The change of s to th, θ , occurs frequently only in Old Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Wāxī *sōkr*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Gr. *κόπος* 'satiety,' Av. *θātairi*, etc. (? see preceding §).

$s > d$.

§ 415. The change of s to d is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sahasra* 'thousand,' Prāk., Pāli *sahassa*, Kāsm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhī *sahasu*, Simh. *dahasia*, *das*, *dāha* (d for s by false analogy with Simh. *dahaya* 'ten,' Skt. *daśan*, etc.).

$s > v$.

§ 416. The change of s to v is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Kurd. *dav*, etc. (see § 410).

$s > ś$.

§ 417. The change of s to $ś$ is very rare. In East Hindī $ś$ is often written for s , although s is retained in pronunciation. This lax writing is very frequent in Gujarātī and in Marāṭhī most of all (cf. §§ 395, 400). The change of s to $ś$ is regular in Māgadhi, Ardhamāgadhi, and Śākārī Prākṛit, and the Avantikā Prākṛit also shows numerous examples of this development.

a. Indian. Skt. *vilāsa* 'coquetry,' Māg. Prāk. *vilāśē*, Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *vilāsa*. Skt. *sabhika* 'keeper of a gambling-house,' Māg. Prāk. *śahia*. Skt. *anusāsana* 'instruction,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *anuśaśaṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *aṇusāsaṇa*, Pāli *anusāsana*.

$s > ṣ$.

§ 418. The change of s to $ṣ$, apart from the regular development in Old Indian of $ṣ$ from s after $ī$, $ū$, $ṛ$, $ē$, $ō$, is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *uyanaṣi* 'in a garden,' beside *uyānaṣi* (inscriptions of Dhauli, Jaugada, Khālsi). Skt. *bhaviṣyāsi* 'thou wilt be,' Gāthā *bhēṣyaṣi*.

$s > ś$.

§ 419. The change of Iranian s to $ś$ is not frequent.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śāṇa* 'whetstone,' New Pers. *sān*, *afsān*, dialectic *šān*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pasān*. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sičīn*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šīšan*, *šīšin*, Kurd. *šūžin*, *sužin*. Skt. *śakṛt* 'excrement,' Afy. *γō-šāk*, *γō-šōē*, N. Bal. *sayan*. Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *šus*, Gab. *sus*, Afy. *sayai*.

$s > z$.

§ 420. The change of *s* to *z* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūirya* 'breakfast,' Phl. *sūr*, New Pers. *surnai* 'trumpet,' Tāt *zurnai*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, Tāt *paz*, Wāxī *pus*, *pos*, Sarq. *p(i)ās*, Afγ. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *paz*, Dig. Oss. *fuss*, Tag. *fiss*. Av. *x^vasura* 'father-in-law,' New Pers. *xusur*, Wāxī *xurs*, Afγ. *sxar*, N. Bal. *vasarik*, Kurd. *xazūr*, *xazīr*, *xaur*.

$s > h$.

§ 421. The change of Indian *s* to *h*, which is very similar to the Iranian *h* developed from Indo-Germanic *s*, where the Old Indian retains *s*, occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects. The change is regular in South-Eastern Bangālī (e. g. Bang. *sakal* 'all,' S.-E. Bang. *hakal*), and it occurs very frequently in Panjābī, Sindhī, and Siṃhalese. Iranian *s* becomes *h* only internally in Middle and New Persian.

a. Indian. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Śāur., Jāina Prāk., Pāli *divasa*, Mar. *divas*, Siṃh. *daraha*, *davasa*, Gyp. *divēs*. Skt. *ekasaptati* 'seventy-one,' Kaśm. *akasatath*, Uṛ. *ēkastōri*, Bang. *ekattar*, Bihārī *ēkahattar*, Hindī *ikahattar*, Panj. *ikhattar*, Sindhī *ēkahatari*, Guj. *ikōtēr*, Mar. *ēkahattar*, cf. Jāina Prāk. *hattari* 'seventy,' Siṃh. *hättāva*, *sättāva*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Panj., Sindhī *kapāh*, etc. (see § 410). Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prāk., Pāli *sappa*, Uṛ., Bang. *sāpa*, Hindī *sāmp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhī *sapu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Siṃh. *hapu*, *sapu*, *sap(ā)*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kīh*, etc. (see § 410). Av. *dasā* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, etc. (see § 410). Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, etc. (see preceding §).

Aphaeresis and syncope of s.

§ 422. The loss of initial or internal *s* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sīdati* 'sits,' Prāk. *sīai*, *saḍai*, Pāli *sīdati*, Siṃh. *iṃḍīnavā*, *hiṃḍīnavā*. Skt. *prasāda* 'favour,' Māhār. Prāk. *pasāya*, Pāli *pasāda*, Siṃh. *pāya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^rasura* 'father-in-law,' Kurd. *xaur*, *xazūr*, *xazīr*, etc. (see § 420).

$\text{š} = \text{ś}$.

§ 423. Iranian š remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Bahb. *sud*, Wāxī *cauam*, Šiyn. *sārum*, Sarq. *sōm*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuθa*, Kurd. *cīan*, *cūn*, Oss. *čaun*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl. *gōš*, Šir. *guš*, Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiyn. *γūž*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afy. *γvaž*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*. Av. *raēšah* 'wound,' Phl. *rēš*, Afy. *raš*.

$\text{š} > c, \check{c}$.

§ 424. The change of š to *c*, *č*, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Wāxī *cauam*, Kurd. *cīan*, *cūn*, Oss. *čaun*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{š} > j$.

§ 425. The change of š to *j* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baēšaza* 'physician,' Phl. *bējašk*, *bijašk*, *bēšazak*, New Pers. *bijišk*, *bizišk*.

$\text{š} > l$.

§ 426. The change of š to *l* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Sarq. *γaul*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *šupuš*, Wāxī *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afy. *spaža*, Kurd. *sipi*, *aspē*, Oss. *sisth*.

$\text{š} > s$.

§ 427. The change of š to *s* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Bahb. *sud*, Šiyn. *sārum*, Sarq. *sōm*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *šuš*, Gab. *sus*, Afy. *sayai*. New Pers. *šūr* 'salt,' Šiv. *sūr*, Bal. *sūrag*, N. Bal. *šōray*, *sōr*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*.

š > z.

§ 428. The change of š to z occurs very seldom.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šekam* 'belly,' New Pers. *šikam*, *iškam*, Kurd. *zik*. Av. *xšvaš* 'six,' Phl. *šaš(um)*, New Pers. *šaš*, Wāxī *šād*, *šāl*, Šiyn. *xauš*, Afγ. *špaž*, Oss. *axsaz*.

š > ž.

§ 429. The change of š to ž is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Šiyn. *γūž*, Afγ. *γvaž*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *araša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiyn. *yūrš*, Sarq. *yūrx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afγ. *yaž*, Kurd. *hirš*, *hirc*, *vir*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *kušaiti* 'kills,' Phl. *kuštanō*, New Pers. *kuštan*, Kurd. *bukužim*.

š > h.

§ 430. The change of š to h is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *rēš(ak)* 'beard,' New Pers. *rīš(ah)*, Cītrālī *rixīš*, *rikiš*, Wāxī *rēyiš*, Minj. *yarža*, Afγ. *žīra*, Kurd. *rēh*, *ri*, Dig. Oss. *rēxē*, Tag. *rīxī*.

Apocope of š.

§ 431. The loss of final š occurs occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Yidg. *γā*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Kurd. *sipi*, *aspē*, etc. (see § 426).

z = z.

§ 432. Iranian z remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *zānu* 'knee,' Phl. *zānūk*, New Pers. *zānū*, Wāxī *zān*, Sarq. *zūn*, Sangl. *zong*, Afγ. *zangūn*, *čangūn*, Bal. *zān*, Kurd. *zāna*, *ažnōh*. Av. *zərōdaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Māz. *zīlah*, Gīl. *zīl*, Šiyn. *zrāδ*, *zrāy*, Sarq. *zārd*, Sangl. *uzrāy*, Minj. *zīl*, Afγ. *zra*, Bal. *zirdē*, Kurd. *zar*, Oss. *zarda*. Av. *maēzənti* 'they make water,' Phl. *mēzītānō*, New Pers. *mēzi-*

dan, Afγ. *mītal*, Bal. *mīšay*, *mēzay*, Kurd. *mīztin*, *mīstin*, Dig. Oss. *mēzun*, Tag. *mīzin*. New Pers. *pōz* 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afγ. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pō(h)z*, N. Bal. *phōñz*, Kurd. *pōz*, *pūz*, Dig. Oss. *finja*, Tag. *fiŋ*.

$z > \check{z}$.

§ 433. The change of *z* to \check{z} is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *zanwa* 'chin,' New Pers. *zanax*, Šiγn. *zingū*, Sarq. *zangān*, Afγ. *jana*, *zana*. Afγ. *jōē* 'son' beside *zōē* (from $\sqrt{\text{zan}}$ 'to be born').

$z > s$.

§ 434. The change of *z* to *s* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dərəza* 'bond,' New Pers. *darz*, Oss. *daras* 'garment.'

$z, \check{z} > \check{s}$.

§ 435. The change of *z, \check{z}* to \check{s} is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *kāzah* 'hunter's hut,' beside *kāžah*, *kāšah*.

$z > \check{z}$.

§ 436. The change of *z* to \check{z} is found occasionally.

b. Iranian. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl. *zim*, New Pers. *zam*, Wāxī *zam*, Šiγn. *zimj*, *zinj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afγ. *žimai*, *zimai*, *jimai*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*.

$z > h$.

§ 437. The change of *z* to *h* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāzu* 'arm,' Phl. *bāzih*, *bāzak*, New Pers. *bāzū*, Gab. *bāi*, Kāš. *bōi*, *bōhī*, *bōhū*, Sīv. *bāi*, Xor. *bāhū*, Judaeo-Pers. *bāhūi*.

Syncope of z.

§ 438. The loss of internal *z* occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāzu* 'arm,' Gab. *bāi*, Kāš. *bōi*, *bōhī*, *bōhū*, Sīv. *bāi*, etc. (see preceding §).

$$\text{ž} = \text{ž}.$$

§ 439. Iranian *ž* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Pāz. *dōžax*, New Pers. *dōzax*, Afγ. *dōžax*, *dōzax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōžē*, Kurd. *dūžē*. Av. *dužaka* 'leech,' Phl. *žūžak*, New Pers. *žūžah*, Gab. *jujīk*.

$$\text{ž} > \gamma.$$

§ 440. The change of *ž* to *γ* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Afγ. *dōyaš*, *dōžax*, *dōzax*, etc. (see preceding §).

$$\text{ž} > j.$$

§ 441. The change of *ž* to *j* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužaka* 'leech,' Gab. *jujīk*, etc. (see § 439).

$$\text{ž} > \text{š}.$$

§ 442. The change of *ž* to *š* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, etc. (see § 439—properly speaking, no change of *ž* to *š* occurs here, since Pahlavi possesses no sign for *ž*, and employs the character for *š* instead).

$$\text{ž} > z.$$

§ 443. The change of *ž* to *z* is the most common one of all those changes to which Iranian *ž* is subject in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' New Pers. *dōzax*, Afγ. *dōzax*, *dōžax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōžē*, etc. (see § 439).

$$h = h.$$

§ 444. Indian *h* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects, and Iranian *h* (corresponding to Indian *s*) is, in like manner, retained in most cases in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāt(h)*, Kāśm. *ath*, U_r. *hāt(h)a*, Bang. *hāt*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Simh. *ata*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., U_r., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiaüm*, Sindhī *himāmu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*. Skt. *mahārg̃ha* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahaṃgā*, *magar*, Nāip. *mahaṃgō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahaṃgā*, Panj. *mahingā*, Sindhī *mahaṃgō*, Guj. *mōṃghum*, Mar. *mahāg*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *lōha* 'iron,' U_r. *lōha*, *luhā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *lōhā*, Guj., Mar. *lōh*, Sindhī *lōhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haēna* 'army,' Old Pers. *hainā*, Phl., Pāz. *hīn*. Av., Old Pers. *hama* 'all,' Phl. *hamak*, Pāz. *hamā*, New Pers. *hamah*, Bal. *hama(l)*, Kurd. *hamū*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Wāxī *hūb*, *hub*, *ub*, *vūvd*, Šīyn. *vurd*, Sarq. *ürd*, Sangl. *haft*, Minj. *ēd*, Yaṣn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*. Old Pers. *θura-rāhara* 'May,' Phl. *vahār*, New Pers. *bahār*, Kāš. *bohōr*, *vōr*, Oss. *valjag*.

$h > k$.

§ 445. The change of *h* to *k* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *hintāla* 'kind of palm,' Pāli *kintāla*, Simh. *kitul*, *hitul*.

$h > kh, x$.

§ 446. The change of *h* to *kh, x*, is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects, where it occurs more usually initially than internally or finally.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl. *xušk(īh)*, New Pers. *xušk*, Sīv. *fušk*, Kāš. *huškudan*, *uškudan*, Wāxī *vask*, Yidg. *ūšk*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušk*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, Oss. *xusk*. Av. *hū* 'pig,' Phl., New Pers. *xūk*, Wāxī *xūg*, Sarq. *xaug*, Afy. *xūg*, Bal. *hūk*, N. Bal. *hūx*, Kurd. *xū*, Oss. *xui*. Av. *haētu* 'bridge,' Sarq. *yaiθ*, Yaṣn. *ītk*, Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Pāz. *dōžax*, New Pers. *dōzax*, Afy. *dōžax*, *dōzax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōžē*, Kurd. *dūžē*.

$h > c$.

§ 447. The change of h to c is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamcū* 'as,' Sīv. *camcah* (assimilation).

$h > ph, f$.

§ 448. The change of h to ph, f , is very rare, and it seems to occur only initially.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Sīv. *fušk*, etc. (see § 446).

$h > bh$.

§ 449. The change of h to bh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāra* nom. prop., Jāina Prak., Pāli *vēbhāra*.

$h > v$.

§ 450. The change of h to v is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxī *vūvd*, (*h*)*ub*, *hūb*, Šīyn. *vuvd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Wāxī *vask*, Afy. *vuc*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, etc. (see § 446).

$h > y, i$.

§ 451. The vocalization of h to y, i , occurs but seldom.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *māh* 'month,' Phl., New Pers. *māh*, Wāxī *mūi*, Šīyn. *mast*, Sarq. *mās*, Minj. *yomya*, Afy. *maī*, Dig. Oss. *maya*, Tag. *mai*.

$h > s$.

§ 452. The change of h to s is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāihika* 'oily,' Pāli *snēsika* (but Pāli *s(i)nēha* 'love,' Skt. *snēha*).

$h > š$.

§ 453. The change of h to $š$ is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namāz*, Afy. *nmūnš*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nīmīš*, *nīmī*.

$h > z, \dot{z}$.

§ 454. The change of h to z, \dot{z} , is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Pāz. *namāž*, New Pers. *namāz*, Kurd. *nimīž*, *nimī*, etc. (see preceding §).

Aphaeresis of h.

§ 455. The loss of initial h is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, the phenomenon is not infrequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Kāśm. *ath*, Siṃh. *ata*, etc. (see § 444).

b. Iranian. Av. *hanjamana* 'assembly,' Phl. *anjaman*, *hanjaman*, New Pers. *anjuman*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxī *ub*, *hub*, *hüb*, *vūvd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, Minj. *ēd*, Yaγn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Kāš. *uškudan*, *huškudan*, Yidg. *ūšk*, etc. (see § 446). Av. *haca* 'from,' Old Pers. *hacā*, Phl. *aj*, New Pers. *az*, *z(i)*, Afy. *ǰ*-, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *až*, *ž(a)*.

Syncope of h.

§ 456. The loss of internal h is very rare in the Indian dialects, although it is more frequent in the New than in the Middle period. The phenomenon occurs more often in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ihalōka* 'this world,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *ialōka*. Skt. *bṛhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bahapphaī*, *bhayapphaī*, *bihapphaī*, *buhapphaī*, *buhappaī*, *bahassaī*, *bahappaī*, *bhaassaī*, *bhuapphaī*, *bhaspadī*, Uṛ. *biphāi* 'Thursday,' Bihārī *biphāi*, *bihaphāi*. Skt. *gēhiṇī* 'woman,' Prāk. *ghariṇī*, Siṃh. *gāṇi*, *girini*. Skt. *vṛīhi* 'rice,' Pāli *vīhi*, Siṃh. *vī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vohuni* 'blood,' Phl., New Pers. *xūn*, Sīv. *fīn*, Wāxī *vuxan*, Šiγn. *vixīn*, Sarq. *vaxīn*, Sangl. *vain*, Afy. *vīnē*, Kurd. *xēn*. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dāšn*. Old Pers. *θura-vāhara* 'May,' Kāš. *vōr*, *bohōr*, etc. (see § 444).

Apocope of h.

§ 457. The loss of final *h* occurs but rarely.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Kurd. *nimī*, *nimīž*, etc. (see § 453).

Prothesis of h.

§ 458. Prothetic *h* is not uncommon in the Middle Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In the New Indian dialects it occurs but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *idānim* 'now,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *hidālōkika*, lit. Prāk. *dāni(ni)*. Skt. *ēdṛśa* 'of that kind,' Prāk. *ērisa*, (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hēḍisa*. Skt. *atra* 'there,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hētā*, Bang. *hōthā*, *ōthā*. Skt. *ōṣṭha* 'lip,' Prāk., Pālī *otṭha*, Uṛ. *ōṭha*, Bang. *hō(ni)ṭh*, Hindī *ōmṭh*, Panj. *hōmṭh*, Guj. *hōṭ*, *ōṭh*, Mar. *ōmṭh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēθrapaiti* 'fire-priest,' Phl. inscriptions *ēhrpat*, lit. Phl. *hērpāt*, *ērpāt*, New Pers. *hērbud*. Av. *aošah* 'death,' Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *as(p)a*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj. *yasap*, Afγ. *ās*, Bal. *haps*, *aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag. *yafs*.

Epenthesis of h.

§ 459. Epenthetic *h* is extremely rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *māna* 'measure,' Uṛ. *mahana*, Hindī *man*, Mar. *man*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jīk*, New Pers. *zih*, Kāš. *yah*, *žā*, Afγ. *žāi*, N. Bal. *jīγ*, Kurd. *žih*.

CONSONANT-GROUPS

§ 460. In the sections dealing with vowels and single consonants, similarity of development, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, has been the rule rather than the exception. In the following paragraphs differences will be found more often than resemblances. Comparatively few consonant-groups have developed in the same way in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The Indian languages have continued the tendency already observable in the Middle Indian. The component sounds of consonant-groups are assimilated, and the resulting repeated consonant is either retained, or one of the letters is dropped with compensatory lengthening of a preceding short vowel. In the Iranian languages, on the other hand, a consonant-group is in the majority of instances softened as a whole, and this secondary consonant-group may be retained without further change in the New Iranian dialects. As a result of these developments with principles which are radically different, consonant-groups in Iranian are less easy to systematize than those in the Indian languages. For the Indian dialects the classification of Beames, *Comparative Grammar*, i. 281-282 (cf. 359-360), into the 'strong, weak, and mixed nexus' is admirable. But since in the Iranian dialects the consonant-group is softened and retained instead of being simplified, such secondary consonant-groups are subject to many tertiary developments. Moreover, it will be seen in many instances noted in the following paragraphs that the component consonants of a consonant-group, in the Middle and New Iranian dialects, may each be modified according to the changes to which they are liable as single consonants.

The essential difference in the treatment of consonant-groups in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects renders the discussion in

the present chapter less satisfactory in results, in some respects, than has been the case with the consideration of the vowels and single consonants. On the other hand, it will not be without interest to note how two closely-related members of the same language-group agree in general in certain parts of their phonology, but at the same time are radically different in other portions of it. Notwithstanding this, the divergent developments of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages are no less instructive than their coincident changes, and a survey of disagreement as well as of agreement is absolutely necessary if a correct knowledge of the entire subject under discussion is to be gained.

$kt > k(k)$.

§ 461. The assimilation of kt to $k(k)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *utkaṇṭhā* 'anxiety,' Prāk. *ukkaṇṭhā*, Pāli *ukkaṇṭhati* 'regrets.' Skt. *mukta* 'released,' Prāk. *mukka*, Pāli *mukka*, *mutta*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śakta* 'able,' Phl., New Pers. *saxt*, Yidg. *sukt*, Bal. *sak*.

$kt > gḍ, \gammaḍ$.

§ 462. The softening of the consonant-group kt to $gḍ, \gammaḍ$, is not common.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakṭā* 'night,' Wāxī *naγḍ*. Skt. *takta* 'swift,' Oss. *thaγḍ*.

$ktz > \gamma z, z\gamma$.

§ 463. The assimilation of ktz to $\gamma z, z\gamma$, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxta* 'burned' + *zaranya* 'gold,' Dig. Oss. *suyzarina*, Tag. *sizγarin*.

$kt > t(t)$.

§ 464. The assimilation of kt to $t(t)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhakta* 'boiled rice,' Prāk., Pāli *bhatta*, Kāśm. *bata*, Ur., Bang., E. Hindī, W. Hindī *bhāt*, Panj. *bhatt*,

Sindhī *ḷhatu*, Guj., Mar. *ḷhāt*. Skt. *mukta* 'pearl,' Prāk., Pāli *mutta*, Ur. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *mati*, *māuktikā*, *muktā*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *mōti*. Skt. *rakta* 'red,' Prāk., Pāli *ratta*, Ur., Bang. *rakta*, Hindī *rāt*, Sindhī *rātō*, Guj. *rātu*, Sinh. *rat*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *puxtanō* 'to cook,' New Pers. *puxtan*, Kāš. *patan*, *pōtan*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Afy. *pa.xavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Dig. Oss. *ficun*, Tag. *ficin*. Phl. *sōxtanō* 'to burn,' New Pers. *sōxtan*, Māg. *sūt*, Gil. *sūt*, *sūxt*, Tāl. *sūt*, Afy. *sēzal*, *sējāl*, *svažavul*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay*, Kurd. *sōtin*, Bohtanī *suhtin*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sōjin*.

kt > pht, ft.

§ 465. The assimilation of *kt* to *pht, ft*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuxta* 'joined,' Phl. *juxt* 'pair,' New Pers. *juft*, Afy. *juxt*, Kurd. *cuxt*. New Pers. *anjūftan* 'to be wrinkled' beside *anjūctan*.

kt > ht.

§ 466. The assimilation of *kt* to *ht* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pakta* 'cooked,' New Pers. *puxtah*, Wāxī *pōšt*, Šīyn. *pašt*, Sarq. *paxt*, Bal. *pakta*, N. Bal. *pahta*, Dig. Oss. *funx(th)*, Tag. *fixth*. Phl. *sōxtanō* 'to burn,' Bohtanī *suhtin*, etc. (see § 464).

ktr > lkh, lx.

§ 467. The assimilation of *ktr* to *lkh, lx*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *bāxtri* nom. prop., Phl. *baxr*, New Pers. *balx*.

ktr > hr.

§ 468. The assimilation of *ktr* to *hr* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baxδra* 'portion,' Phl., New Pers. *bahr*, *barx*.

kth > (t)th.

§ 469. The assimilation of *kth* to *(t)th* is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *siktha* 'beeswax,' Prāk., Pāli *sittha*, Hindī *sīth*, *sīṭh*, Panj. *sēṭh*, *sēṭ*, Mar. *sīt*. Skt. *śakthi* 'thigh,' Pāli *satthi*.

$kn > nn$.

§ 470. The assimilation of kn to nn is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaknōti* 'is able,' Prāk. *sakkaṛ*, Pāli *sakkati*, *sakkōti*, *sakkunāti*, Hindī *sak*, Sindhī *sagh*, Guj., Mar. *śak*.

$km > m(m)$.

§ 471. The assimilation of km to $m(m)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *rukmaṇi* 'sort of metre,' Pāli *rummaṇi*.

b. Iranian. Av. **staxma* 'firm' (cf. Av. *staxra*), Phl. *sitah-mak*, New Pers. *sitam* 'violence.' Av. *taoxman* 'seed,' Old Pers. *taumā*, Phl. *tōxm*, New Pers. *tuxm*, Gab. *tūm*, Nāy. *tum*, Wāxī *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *tōym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, Afγ. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*.

$km > gm, \gamma m$.

§ 472. The softening of the consonant-group km to $gm, \gamma m$, is not frequent.

b. Iranian. Av. *taoxmān* 'seed,' Wāxī *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *tōym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, etc. (see preceding §).

$km > p(p)$.

§ 473. The assimilation of km to $p(p)$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rukminī* 'Lakṣmī,' Prāk. *ruppiṇī*.

$ky > k(k)$.

§ 474. The assimilation of ky to $k(k)$ occurs occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *cāṇakya* nom. prop., Prāk. *cāṇakka*. Skt. *āutsukya* 'zeal,' Pāli *ussukka*. Skt. *trāilōkya* 'the three worlds,' Prāk. *tellokka*, *tēlokka*.

$kr > k(k)$.

§ 475. The assimilation of kr to $k(k)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Prāk., Pāli *cakka*, Ass. *cāk*, Uṛ. *caka*, Bang. *cākā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *cāk*, Panj. *cakh*, Sindhī *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāk*, Simh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *ājñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Simh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

$kr > r(r)$.

§ 476. The assimilation of *kr* to *r(r)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Sīv. *sīr*, Kāš., Kuhr. *sūr*, Wāxī *sōkr*, Šīyn., Sarq. *sīrah*, Yidg. *surkuh*, Afγ. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*.

$kr > hr$.

§ 477. The assimilation of *kr* to *hr* is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *caxra* 'wheel,' New Pers. *carx*, *cahrah*, Kāš. *cōra*, *cīr*, Oss. *čalx*. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, etc. (see preceding §).

$kl > l(l)$.

§ 478. The assimilation of *kl* to *l(l)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kliṣṭa* 'sick,' Prāk., Pāli *kiliṭṭha*, Simh. *leḍa*.

$kv > k(k)$.

§ 479. The assimilation of *kv* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kāsm. *papī*, Uṛ. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj. ✓*pik*, *pak* 'to ripen,' Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pako*.

$kṣ > k(k)$.

§ 480. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *k(k)* is excessively rare in the Iranian dialects as well as in the Indian dialects, excepting Bangālī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *bubhukṣā* 'hunger,' Pāli *bubhukkhati*, Hindī

bhūkh, Sindhī *bukhā*, Mar. *bhuk*, Gyp. *bokh*. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Prāk. *khīra*, *chīra*, Pāli *khīra*, Kaf. *zu*, New Ind. dialects *khūr*, Sinh. *kirī*, *kira*, Maladive *kiru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Sīv., Judaeo-Pers. *magaz*, Wāxī *maks*, Minj. *muya*, Afy. *mac*, Bal. *makask*, *magisk*, N. Bal. *mahisk*, Kurd. *miš*.

kṣ > kkh.

§ 481. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *kkh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchiā*, Pāli *makkhikā*, Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Ur. *mā(n)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(n)sī*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindī *mā(n)chī*, Hindī *makkhī*, *mā(n)khī*, Panj. *makkhī*, Sindhī *makhī*, Guj. *mākhī*, Mar. *maklū*, *māśī*, Gyp. *makhī*. Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dakkhiṇa*, *dāhiṇa*, Pāli *dakkhiṇa*, Kāśm. *dachan*, Ur. *dāhinā*, *ḍāhāna*, Bang. *ḍāin*, E. Hindī *dachin*, Hindī *dakhin*, *dāhinā*, Panj. *dakkhan*, Sindhī *ḍakhinō*, Mar. *ḍākhīn*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Prāk., Pāli *pakkha*, Kāśm. *pakh(a)*, E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bang. *pākhī*, Bihārī *paṁkh* 'wing,' *pāhīn* 'beside,' *paṁchī* 'bird,' Hindī *pākhī*, *pāṁchī*, Panj. *pāṁchī*, Sindhī *paṁgu*, Guj. *pāṁchī*, Mar. *pākh*, *pāṁchī*, Sinh. *pak*, *pasa*, Gyp. *phak*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, *xašava*, Yidg. *xšuvuh*, Yaγn. *xīšap*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *arsav*.

kṣ > khs, xs.

§ 482. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *khs*, *xs*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' Oss. *arsav*, etc. (see preceding §).

kṣ > g(g).

§ 483. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *g(g)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Sīv., Judaeo-Pers. *magaz*, Bal. *magisk*, *makask*, etc. (see § 480).

$kṣ > c(c)$.

§ 484. The assimilation of $kṣ$ to $c(c)$ is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small,' Prāk. *khudḍa*, Pāli *khudda*, Uṛ. *khudatā*, Bang. *khudā*, Old Sinh. *cuḍi*, Sinh. *kudā*, *kudu*.

b. Iranian. Av. **xšapacara* 'bat,' Bal. *šapcar*, Makrānī *capcal* (assimilation).

$kṣ > (c)ch$.

§ 485. The assimilation of $kṣ$ to $(c)ch$ is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *riccha*, *rikkha*, Pāli *accha*, *ikka*, *is(s)a*, Uṛ. *richa*, Bihārī *rīch*, *rīkh*, Hindī *rīch*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhī *richu*, Guj. *rīch*, Mar. *rīs*. Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchiā*, Kaśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Uṛ. *mā(ñ)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(ñ)sī*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindī *mā(ñ)chī*, etc. (see § 481). Skt. *kṣētra* 'field,' Prāk. *chetta*, Pāli *khetta*, Kaśm. *khīt*. Skt. *kṣatriya* 'warrior,' Prāk. *khattia*, Pāli *khattiya*, Uṛ. *chetri*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *chatrī*, *khatrī*, *khetri*, Sindhī *khitrī*, Mar. *kṣatrī*.

$kṣ > j, (j)jh$.

§ 486. The assimilation of $kṣ$ to $j, (j)jh$, is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīṇa* 'wasted,' Prāk. *jhīṇa*, *khīṇa*, *chīṇa*, Pāli *khīna*, *khinna*, Ass. *jīn* 'decay,' Hindī *jhīn*, *cchīn*, Sindhī *jhīnō*, Gyp. *khīnō*. Skt. *kṣīyate* 'wastes away,' Prāk. *jhijjaj*, Mar. *jhij*. Skt. *kṣāmā* 'earth,' Hindī *jhāmā* 'vitrified brick.'

$kṣ > s(s)$.

§ 487. The assimilation of $kṣ$ to $s(s)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pāli *ucchu*, Uṛ. *ākhu*, Bang. *āku*, E. Hindī *ākh*, W. Hindī *ikh*, Mar. *ūs*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Mar. *rīs*, etc. (see § 485). Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Kaśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Uṛ. *mā(ñ)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(ñ)sī*), etc. (see § 481). Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Sinh. *pasa*, *pak*, etc. (see § 481).

Skt. *kṣaṇa* 'instant,' Prāk. *khaṇa*, *chaṇa* 'feast,' New Ind. dialects *khaṇ*, excepting Hindi *khan*, *chan*, *chin*, Sinh. *sūṇa*, *san(d)a*, inscriptions *sāṇḍā*.

$kṣ > ś(ṣ)$.

§ 488. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *ś(ṣ)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian languages.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyaθiya* 'king,' Pāz., New Pers. *šāh*. Av. *xšīra* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *šīr*, Minj. *xšīr*, Dig. Oss. *axšīr*, Tag. *axsir*. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šīyn. *šab*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šav*, etc. (see § 481).

$kṣ > h(h)$.

§ 489. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *h(h)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaikṣa* 'novice,' Jaina Prāk. *sēha*, Pāli *sekha*, *sēkha*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bihārī *pāhīm* 'beside,' *pañchī* 'bird,' *pañkh* 'wing,' etc. (see § 481). Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dāhiṇa*, *dakkhīṇa*, Ur. *dāhinā*, *ḍāhāna*, Hindī *dāhinā*, *dakhin*, etc. (see § 481).

$kṣ > ṣ(z)$.

§ 490. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *ṣ(z)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Kaf. *zu*, etc. (see § 480).

Aphaeresis of kṣ.

§ 491. The loss of initial *kṣ* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣāra* 'potash,' Prāk. *chāra*, Pāli *khāra*, *chārīka*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, excepting Sindhi *chāru*, Sinh. *alu*, *haḷu*, Maladive *hulu*.

$kṣn > ṇ, n$.

§ 492. The assimilation of *kṣn* to *ṇ, n*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl., New Pers. *rōšan*, Šīyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afy. *rūn*, Bal. *rōšanī*, Kurd. *rōn*, *rūn*, *ruhnāi*, *rūnā(h)i*.

$k\dot{s}n > \dot{s}n$.

§ 493. The assimilation of $k\dot{s}n$ to $\dot{s}n$ is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Šiyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, etc. (see preceding §).

$k\dot{s}n > hn$.

§ 494. The assimilation of $k\dot{s}n$ to hn is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Kurd. *ruhnāi*, *rūnā(i)*, *rōn*, *rūn*, etc. (see § 492).

$gdh > t(t)$.

§ 495. The assimilation of gdh to $t(t)$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prāk., Pāli *duddha*, Nāip. *dūt*, Kaśm. *dod*, Ur. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud(u)*, Bihārī, Hindī *dūdh*, Panj. *dudd*, Sindhī *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdh*, Gyp. *thud*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dogdhum* 'to milk,' Phl. *dōxtanō*, New Pers. *dōxtan*, Wāxī *ḍōgnam*, Sarq. *ḍauzam*, Afy. *lvašal*, Bal. *dōšaγ*, Kurd. *dōtin*, Bayazid *dōthin*, Dig. Oss. *dočun*, Tag. *dūčīn*.

$gdh > d(d)$.

§ 496. The assimilation of gdh to $d(d)$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Kaśm. *dod*, Bang. *dud(u)*, *dudh*, Panj. *dudd*, Gyp. *thud*, etc. (see preceding §).

$gdh > ddh$.

§ 497. The assimilation of gdh to ddh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prāk., Pāli *duddha*, Ur. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud(u)*, Bihārī, Hindī *dūdh*, Sindhī *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdh*, etc. (see § 495). Skt. *mugdha* 'fool,' Prāk., Pāli *muddha*.

$gn > g(g), \gamma$.

§ 498. The assimilation of gn to $g(g), \gamma$, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is excessively rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prāk. *aggi*, *aggiṇi*, *giṇi*, U_r. *ṇia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindī *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhī *āgi*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Sinh. *gini*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,' Prāk., Pāli *nagga*, U_r. *naṃgalā*, Bang. *nēṇṭā*, Bihārī *naṃg*, Hindī, Panj. *naṃgā*, Sindhī *naṃgō*, Guj. *nāguṃ*, Mar. *naggā*, *naṃgā*, Gyp. *naṃgō* (cf. also Kaśm. *naṃrāv* 'to strip'). Skt. *lagna* 'attached,' Prāk., Pāli *lagga*, Hindī *lagā*, *lāg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōyan*, *rōkan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōy*, Kurd. *rūn*.

gn > *n(n)*.

§ 499. The assimilation of *gn* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Sarq. *raun*, Kurd. *rūn*, etc. (see preceding §).

Syncope and apocope of gn.

§ 500. The loss of internal or final *gn* occurs with the utmost rarity.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Kāš. *rō*, *ruyan*, etc. (see § 498).

gm > *m(m)*.

§ 501. The assimilation of *gm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yugma* 'pair,' Prāk. *jumma*, *jugga*. Skt. *tigma* 'sharp,' Prāk. *timma*, *tigga*.

b. Iranian. GAv. *āgəmat̪* 'assembled,' YAv. *frāymat̪*, Old Pers. *hagmatā*, Phl. *maṭanō*, New Pers. *āmudan*.

gy > *g(g)*.

§ 502. The assimilation of *gy* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yōgya* 'suitable,' Prāk. *jogga*, Pāli *yogga*,

New Ind. dialects *jōg*. Skt. *lagyati* (Nirukta, iv. 10) 'is attached,' Prāk. *laggaṛi*, Pāli *laggati*, Kaśm. $\sqrt{\text{lag}}$, Hindī *lag*, Panj. *lagg*, Sindhī *lāg*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*.

gr > g(g).

§ 503. The assimilation of *gr* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *agra* 'front,' Prāk., Pāli *agga*, Ass. *āgē*, Nāip. *aghi*, Uṛ. *āgu*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *āgē*, Panj. *aggū*, Sindhī *aggō*, Gyp. *agor*, *angle*. Skt. *vyagra* 'crooked,' Prāk. *vagga*.

ghr > (g)gh.

§ 504. The assimilation of *ghr* to *(g)gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīghra* 'swift,' Prāk. *siggha*, Pāli *sīgha*, Bang. (Burdwānī) *śiggir*, Gyp. *sigō*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Sinh. *vag*.

ghr > r(r).

§ 505. The assimilation of *ghr* to *r(r)* is sometimes found.

b. Iranian. Av. *tiyri* 'arrow,' Old Pers. *tiyra*, Phl., New Pers., Bal. *tir*, N. Bal. *thīr*, Kurd. *tir(ik)*.

ṛk > ṛg.

§ 506. The softening of *ṛk* to *ṛg* occurs not infrequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *paryanṛka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallanṛka*, Śāur. Prāk. *paliṇṛka*, Pāli *pallanṛka*, *pariyanṛka*, Ass. *pālənṛg*, Nāip. *palanṛg*, Uṛ. *palanṛk*, Bang. *pālānṛg*, *pālānṛk*, Bihārī *palanṛg*, *pālakī*, Hindī *palanṛg*, Panj. *palanṛgh*, Sindhī *palanṛgu*, Guj., Mar. *palanṛg*, Anglo-Ind. *palanquin*. Skt. *kaṇkaṇa* 'bracelet,' Prāk., Pāli *kaṇkaṇa*, Ass. *kaṛgan*, *kāṛkan*, Kaśm. *kaṇkāin*, *kaṛgum*, Uṛ., Bang. *kāṇgan*, E. Hindī *kaṇgan*, *kaṇkan*, *kāṇkan*, Hindī *kaṇgan*, *kaṇkan*, Panj. *kaṇgan*, Sindhī *kaṇgaṇu*, Guj., Mar. *kaṇgan*.

ṛkt > ṁt.

§ 507. The assimilation of *ṛkt* to *ṁt* occurs occasionally (cf. § 464).

a. Indian. Skt. *paṛkti* 'row,' Prāk., Pāli *paṁti*, Bihārī *pāṁti*.

ṛkh > k(h).

§ 508. The assimilation of *ṛkh* to *k(h)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṛkhala* 'fetter,' Pāli *saṁkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikrī*, Ur. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindī *sī(ṁ)kar*, *sik(k)ar*, Hindī *sīkar*, *sikal*, *sikhar*, Panj. *saṁghar*, Sindhī *saṁgharō*, Guj. *sāṁghal*, Mar. *sā(ṁ)khal*, *sikrī*.

ṛkh > ṛgh, ṁgh.

§ 509. The softening of *ṛkh* to *ṛgh*, *ṁgh*, is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṛkhala* 'fetter,' Panj. *saṁghar*, Sindhī *saṁgharō*, Guj. *saṁghal*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṛg > g(g).

§ 510. The assimilation of *ṛg* to *g(g)* occurs but rarely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṛgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *laṁgala*, *ṇaṁgala*, Pāli *naṁgala*, Bang. *nāṁgal*, Bihārī *lāṁgal*, Mar. *nāṁgar*, Sinh. *nagula*, *naḡala*. Skt. *lāṛgūla* 'tail,' Prāk. *laṁgūla*, Sinh. *nagal*, *nakūṭa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'toe,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Sīv. *gus*, Kāš. *unguss*, *anguš(t)*, Māz. *angus*, Wāxī *yangl*, Šīyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gūta*, Tag. Oss. *angursth*.

ṛg > ṛgh.

§ 511. The aspirization of *ṛg* to *ṛgh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jaṛgala* 'desert,' Ass. *jaṛghal*, Sindhī *jhaṛgu* < **jaṛghu*, other New Ind. dialects *jaṁgal*, Old Hindī also *jaṁgar*, Anglo-Ind. *jungle*.

cch > *śc(h)*.

§ 512. The dissimilation of *cch* to *śc(h)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gaccha* 'go!' Māg. Prāk. *gaśca*. Skt. *prechati* 'asks,' Māg. Prāk. *puścadi*. Skt. *ucchiṣṭa* 'remnant,' Śāk. Prāk. *uśchitta*, Pāli *ucchitta*.

cy > *c(c)*.

§ 513. The assimilation of *cy* to *c(c)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *acyuta* 'firm,' Prāk. *accuda*, Pāli *accuta*. Skt. *cyavatē* 'goes,' Prāk. *cavaṭ*, Pāli *cavati*, U_r. *cuibā*, Bang. *cuān*, Hindī *cūnā*, Panj. *cōṇā*, Sindhī *cuhāṇu*, Mar. *cāvaṇēm*. Skt. *ucyatē* 'is said,' Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Śāur. Prāk. *vuccaṭ*, Pāli *vuccati*.

cv > *c(c)*, *č(č)*.

§ 514. The assimilation of *cv* to *c(c)*, *č(č)*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *cvant* 'how many?' Phl., New Pers. *cand*, Wāxī *čum*, *čun*, Sarq. *čund*, Afy. *čom(b)ra*, Bal. *cunt*.

jñ > *g(g)*.

§ 515. The assimilation of *jñ* to *g(g)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yajña* 'sacrifice,' Prāk. *jaṇṇa*, Śāur. Prāk. *jañja*, Pāli *yañña*, U_r., Bang. *jāga*, Old Hindī *jajana*, *jaja*, *jagga*, *jagya*, Hindī *jāg*, Panj. *jagg*, Sindhī *jaṅu*, Mar. *jāg*.

jñ > *gy*.

§ 516. The New Indian dialects, with the exception of Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, regularly pronounce *jñ* as *gy*, although U_riya and Bangālī retain *jñ* in script. In Gujarātī *jñ* is pronounced *jñ* or *dn*, and in Marāṭhī *jñ* is pronounced *dny*. Sindhī usually assimilates *jñ* to *jj*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāna*, *ṇāṇa*, Pāis. Prāk. *ñāṇa*, Pāli *jāna*, U_r., Bang. *jñāna* (pron. *g'ānō*), Hindī,

Panj. *gyān*, Sindhī *jāṇu*, Guj., Mar. *jāṇ*. Skt. *ājñā* 'command,' Prāk. *āṇā*, Pāli *aññā*, Hindī *āgyā*, Panj. *agiā*, Sindhī *āgyā*, Guj. *āgnyā*.

$j\hat{n} > j(j)$.

§ 517. The assimilation of $j\hat{n}$ to $j(j)$ is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāṇa*, *ṇāṇa*, Pāli *jāṇa*, Sindhī *jāṇu*, Guj., Mar. *jāṇ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Prāk. *sarvajja*, *sarvaṇṇu*, Śāur. Prāk. *sarvañja*, Māhār. Prāk. *sarvannu*, Pāis. Prāk. *sarvañña*.

$j\hat{n} > \hat{n}(\hat{n})$.

§ 518. The assimilation of $j\hat{n}$ to $\hat{n}(\hat{n})$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Pāis. Prāk. *sarvañña*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *viññāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viṇṇāna*, Pāli *viññāṇa*.

$j\hat{n} > n(n)$.

§ 519. The assimilation of $j\hat{n}$ to $n(n)$ is found quite frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *viññāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viṇṇāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *rājñī* 'queen,' Nāip., Hindī *rānī*, other New Ind. dialects *rāṇī*. Skt. *ājñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Sinh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

$j\hat{n} > n(n)$.

§ 520. The assimilation of $j\hat{n}$ to $n(n)$ occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Māhār. Prāk. *sarvannu*, etc. (see § 517). Skt. *jñāti* 'kinsman,' Pāli *ñāti*, Sinh. *nā*.

$jy > j(j)$.

§ 521. The assimilation of jy to $j(j)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājya* 'kingdom,' Pāli *rajja*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūtānō* 'to gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvīdan*, Gab.

jovādmūn, Afy. *žōvul*, *žōyal*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāγ*, Kurd. *jūn* (cf. Old Bulg. *živati*, Old High Germ. *kiuwan*).

jy > (j)jh.

§ 522. The assimilation of *jy* to *(j)jh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *adhiṣṭhā* 'having the bow-string taut,' Pāli *adejjha*, but Skt. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāli *j(i)yā*.

jy > z(z), ž(ž).

§ 523. The assimilation of *jy* to *z(z)*, or *ž(ž)*, is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūtanō* 'to gnaw,' Afy. *žōvul*, *žōyal*, etc. (see § 521). Av. *jya* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jīk*, New Pers. *zih*, Kāš. *zah*, *ža*, Afy. *žai*, N. Bal. *jīγ*, Kurd. *žih*.

jv > j(j).

§ 524. The assimilation of *jv* to *j(j)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Prāk., Pāli *jālā*, Ur. *jvalibā*, Hindī *bālanā*, Panj. *jalaṇā*, *bālaṇā*, Sindhī *jalaṇu*, *bāraṇu*, Guj. *jalaṇuṃ*, Mar. *jalaṇēṃ*, Sinh. *dala*.

jv > (j)jh.

§ 525. The assimilation of *jv* to *(j)jh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvalati* 'flames,' Apab. Prāk. *jalaī*, Pāli *jalati*, Ur. *jhalakanā*, Sindhī *jhalkaṇu*, Guj. *jhalakavun*, Mar. *jhalakaṇēṃ*.

jv > d(d).

§ 526. The assimilation of *jv* to *d(d)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Sinh. *dala*, etc. (see §§ 524, 182).

jv > b(b).

§ 527. The assimilation of *jv* to *b(b)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Hindī *bālanā*, Panj. *bālaṇā*, *jalaṇā*, Sindhī *bāraṇu*, *jalaṇu*, etc. (see § 524). Skt. *jvara* 'fever,' Prāk., Pāli *jara*, Sindhī *bar*.

$\hat{n}c > \text{ng}$.

§ 528. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to ng is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tancišta* 'most narrow,' Phl., New Pers. *tang*, Wāxī *tang*, Sarq. *tong*, Afy. *tangayī*, Bal. *tank*, N. Bal. *thanax*, *thanakh*, Kurd. *tank*.

$\hat{n}c > c(c)$.

§ 529. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $c(c)$ occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Prāk. *pañṇāsa*, Pāli *paññāsa*, *pañṇāsa*, Kāsm. *pañčah*, Ur. *pacāśa*, Bang. *pañcāsa*, Bihārī, Hindī *pacās*, Panj., Sindhī *pañjāh*, Guj. *pacās*, Mar. *pañnās*, Sinh. *panaha*.

$\hat{n}c > j(j)$.

§ 530. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $j(j)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kuñcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kuñjī*, Kāsm. *kuñz*, Ur. *kuji*, *kuñcī*, *kuñjhī*, Bang. *kūjī*, *kūñjī*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kuñjī*, Guj. *kuñcī*, Mar. *kuñjī*.

$\hat{n}c > \hat{n}j$.

§ 531. The softening of $\hat{n}c$ to $\hat{n}j$ is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuñcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kuñjī*, Bang. *kū(ñ)jī*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Mar. *kuñjī*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Kāš. *hanc*, Wāxī *pānz*, Šiyn., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *panz*, Minj. *panc*, Afy. *pinja*, Oss. *fonj*, *fonj*, Kurd. *panj*, *pēnj*.

$\hat{n}c > \hat{n}(\hat{n})$.

§ 532. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $\hat{n}(\hat{n})$ occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Pāli *paññāsa*, *pañṇāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > \hat{n}(\hat{n})$.

§ 533. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $\hat{n}(\hat{n})$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Prāk. *pañṇāsa*, Pāli *pañ-ñāsa*, *paññāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > n(n)$.

§ 534. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Mar. *pañnās*, Sinh. *panaha*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > s(s)$.

§ 535. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $s(s)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 165).

a. Indian. Skt. *kāñcana* 'gold,' Prāk. *kañcaṇa*, Pāli *kañcana*, Sinh. *kasun*. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Prāk., Pāli *pañca*, Kaśm. *pañč*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *pāñc*, Panj., Sindhī *pāñj*, Guj., Mar. *pāñc*, Sinh. *pasa*, *paha*, Gyp. *panc*.

$\hat{n}c > h(h)$.

§ 536. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $h(h)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Sinh. *paha*, *pasa*, etc. (see preceding § and cf. § 169).

$\hat{n}j > m̃d$.

§ 537. The assimilation of $\hat{n}j$ to $m̃d$ is excessively rare, excepting in Sinhalese (see § 182).

a. Indian. Skt. *añjana* 'collyrium,' Prāk. *añjaṇa*, Pāli *añjana*, Sinh. *añduna*.

$\acute{d}g > g(g)$.

§ 538. The assimilation of $\acute{d}g$ to $g(g)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Prāk., Pāli *khagga*, Ur. *khamḍā*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindī *kharag*, *khāmḍ*, Sindhī *khanō*, Guj. *khārūn*, Mar. *khāmḍ*.

$\acute{d}g > ḍ(ḍ)$.

§ 539. The assimilation of $\acute{d}g$ to $ḍ(ḍ)$ is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Ur. *khamḍā*, Hindī *khāmḍ*, *kharag*, Guj. *khārūn*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\acute{d}g > n(n)$.

§ 540. The assimilation of $\acute{d}g$ to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Sindhī *khanō*, etc. (see § 538).

$nt > t(t)$.

§ 541. The assimilation of nt to $t(t)$ is found occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Prāk. *kaṇṭaa*, Pāli *kaṇ-ṭ(h)aka*, Ass. *kāṇṭī*, Nāip. *kāmṛā*, Kaśm. *koṇḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Ur. *kaṇṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Bang. *kāṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Hindī *kāmṭā*, Panj., Sindhī *kamḍā*, Guj. *kāmṭō*, Mar. *kāṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Gyp. *kanrō*, *kandō*.

$nt > d(d)$.

§ 542. The assimilation of nt to $d(d)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Nāip. *kāmṛā*, Panj., Sindhī *kāmḍā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nt > nd$.

§ 543. The softening of nt to nd occurs quite rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Kaśm. *koṇḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Gyp. *kandō*, *kanrō*, etc. (see § 541).

$nth > nt$.

§ 544. The deaspirization of nth is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṇṭhi* 'ginger,' Kaśm. *sōṇṭ*, Ur., Bang. *śuṇṭha*, Hindī *sōmṭh*, Panj. *suṇḍh*, *sōmḍh*, Sindhī *suṇḍhi*, Guj. *suṇṭh*.

$nth > ndh$.

§ 545. The softening of nth to ndh is the most usual change of all those to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṇṭhi* 'ginger,' Panj. *suṇḍh*, *sōmḍh*, Sindhī *suṇḍhi*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nd > d(d)$.

§ 546. The assimilation of nd to $d(d)$ is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Kaśm. *khaḍak*, Ur. *khaṇḍā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *khāmṛ*, Panj. *khāmḍā*, Sindhī *khanō*, Guj. *khāḍum*, Mar. *khaṇḍā*, *khāmḍā*. Skt. *duṇḍubha* 'sort of lizard,' Pāli *deḍḍubha*.

$nḍ > nd$.

§ 547. The decerebralization of $nḍ$ is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Ass., Nāip. *rāmri*, Ur., Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *rām̐r*, Panj. *rand*, Sindhī *ran*, Guj., Mar. *rāṇḍ*.

$nḍ > n(n)$.

§ 548. The assimilation of $nḍ$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Sindhī *khanō*, etc. (see § 546). Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Sindhī *ran*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Pāli *gaṇḍaka* 'rhinoceros,' Bihārī *gannā*, *gandā*, *gāṇḍā*.

$nḍh > ḍ(ḍ)$.

§ 549. The assimilation of $nḍh$ to $ḍ(ḍ)$ is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sām̐r*, Bang. *ṣām̐r*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sām̐r*, Panj. *sāṇḍh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Multānī *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sām̐ḍ*.

$nḍh > n(n)$.

§ 550. The assimilation of $nḍh$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Sindhī *sānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nḍh > ṁr$.

§ 551. The assimilation of $nḍh$ to *ṁr* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Ass. *sām̐r*, etc. (see § 549).

$nḍh > ṁh$.

§ 552. The assimilation of $nḍh$ to *ṁh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Multānī *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, etc. (see § 549).

$ny > ṇj$.

§ 553. The assimilation of ny to *ṇj* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brahmanya* 'Brahmanical,' Śāur. Prāk. *vaṃhaṇja*.

$ṇy > ṇ(ṇ)$.

§ 554. The assimilation of $ṇy$ to $ṇ(ṇ)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *puṇya* 'pure,' Prāk. *puṇṇa*, Pāli *puṇṇa*, *puṇṇa*, Sindhī *puṇṇ*. Skt. *araṇya* 'desert,' Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Pāli *araṇṇa*, Hindī *ran*, Sindhī *raṇ*, *rinu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*.

$ṇy > ṇ(n)$.

§ 555. The assimilation of $ṇy$ to $ṇ(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *puṇya* 'pure,' Prāk. *puṇṇa*, Pāli *puṇṇa*, *puṇṇa*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṇy > n(n)$.

§ 556. The assimilation of $ṇy$ to $n(n)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *araṇya* 'desert,' Hindī *ran*, Sindhī *rinu*, *raṇ*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, etc. (see § 554). Skt. *hiraṇya* 'gold,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi and Kapur dī Giri) *hilaṇṇa*, Pāli *hiraṇṇa*.

$ṇv > ṇ(n)$.

§ 557. The assimilation of $ṇv$ to $ṇ(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇva* nom. prop., Prāk. *kaṇṇa*. Skt. *kiṇva* 'yeast,' Pāli *kiṇṇa*, Sindhī *kinu*.

$ṇv > n(n)$.

§ 558. The assimilation of $ṇv$ to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiṇva* 'yeast,' Sindhī *kinu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$tt > t(t)$.

§ 559. The cerebralization of tt to $t(t)$ is in the great majority of cases due to the presence of a preceding r , $ṛ$.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥tta* 'happened,' Prāk. *vatt̥ta*, Pāli *vatt̥ta*, *vatta*. Skt. *mṛttikā* 'clay,' Prāk. *maṭṭiā*, Pāli *mattikā*, Ur., Bang. *māṭī*, Hindī, Panj. *mittī*, *mattī*, Sindhī *miṭṭī*, Guj. *māṭī*, Mar. *māṭī*. Skt. *pattana* 'town,' Prāk. *paṭṭana*, Pāli *paṭṭana*.

$tp > p(p)$.

§ 560. The assimilation of tp to $p(p)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *utpadyantē* 'they arise,' Prāk. *uppajjantē*, Pāli *uppajjanti*, cf. Sindhī *upanō*, Guj. *upan(y)ō*.

$tm > t(t)$.

§ 561. The assimilation of tm to $t(t)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. *attā*, *appā*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, Pāli *attā*, *ātumā*, Ass. *āpu*, Nāip. *āphu*, Kaśm. *pāṇ*, Uṛ., Bang. *āp(ē)*, *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindī, Panj. *āp(an)*, Sindhī *pāṇ*, Guj. *āp*, Mar. *āp(aṇ)*.

$tm > pt$.

§ 562. The assimilation of tm to pt is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, lit. Prāk. *attā*, *appā*, etc. (see preceding § and cf. Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 277).

$tm > p(p)$.

§ 563. The assimilation of tm to $p(p)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. *appā*, *attā*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, Ass. *āpu*, Kaśm. *pāṇ*, Uṛ., Bang. *āp(ē)*, *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindī, Panj. *āp(an)*, Sindhī *pāṇ*, Guj. *āp*, Mar. *āp(aṇ)*, etc. (see § 561).

$ty > c(c)$.

§ 564. The assimilation of ty to $c(c)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Ass. *saṁcā*, (pron. *hoṁsā*), Uṛ. *sacā*, Bang. *sāṁcā*, *sacā*, E. Hindī *sāṁc*, Hindī *sāṁc*, *sa(m)c*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacū*, Guj., Mar. *sācun*, Simh. *sasa*, Gyp. *cacō*. Skt. *hatyā* 'murder,' Sindhī *hacā*.

ty > *t(t)*.

§ 565. The assimilation of *ty* to *t(t)*, while less frequent than the assimilation of *ty* to *c(c)*, is, nevertheless, not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Prāk., Pāli *nicca*, Bihārī *niṭ(t)*, Sindhī *nitū*, Sinh. *nisadī*, *nisādī*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prāk., Pāli *amacca*, Sinh. *ameta*, *ametiya*. Skt. *atyunnata* 'very high,' Jāina Prāk. *accunaya*.

ty > *s(s)*.

§ 566. The assimilation of *ty* to *s(s)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Sinh. *nisadī*, *nisādī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *satya* 'true,' Sinh. *sasa*, etc. (see § 564).

tr > *č(č)*.

§ 567. The assimilation of *tr* to *č(č)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ^ra*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pūr*, Wāxī *pōtr*, Šiyn. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Minj. *pūr*, Yaγn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusay*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*, Kurd. *pisir*.

tr > *t(t)*.

§ 568. The assimilation of *tr* to *t(t)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prāk. *putta*, Śāur. Prāk. *puḍ(ḍ)a*, Pāli *putta*, Uṛ. *pua*, Hindī *put*, Sindhī *puṭru*, Lār. *puṭṭu*, Mar. *putī*, Sinh. *pit*, *put*.

tr > *ṭr*.

§ 569. The assimilation of *tr* to *ṭr* occurs only in Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *trīṇi* 'three,' Prāk. *tiṇṇi*, Pāli *tīṇi*, Kāśm. *trih*, Uṛ. *tini*, Bang. *tina*, Bihārī *tīni*, Hindī *tīn*, Panj. *timn*, Sindhī *ṭrē*, Guj. *taṇ*, Mar. *tīn*, Gyp. *trin*. Skt. *sūtra* 'thread,' Prāk., Pāli *sutta*, New Ind. dialects *sūt*, excepting Sindhī *suṭru*, Lār. *sutṭu*, Sinh. *suta*.

tr > (*t*)*th*.

§ 570. The assimilation of *tr* to (*t*)*th* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathamaputra* 'first-born son,' E. Hindī, Hindī *pahilam̐thā*, Panj. *pahilōṭhā*, Sindhī *pahrōṭhō*, *pahrātu*.

tr > *ḍ*(*ḍ*).

§ 571. The assimilation of *tr* to *ḍ*(*ḍ*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Śāur. Prāk. *puḍ*(*ḍ*)*a*, etc. (see § 568).

tr > *t*(*t*).

§ 572. The assimilation of *tr* to *t*(*t*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prāk. *ratti*, *rāi*, Pāli *ratti*, Kaśm., Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhī *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Sinh. *rāya*, *rā*, Gyp. *rat*, Span. Gyp. (*a*)*raci*. Skt. *kṣētra* 'field,' Prāk. *chetta*, Pāli *khetta*, Ur., Bang. *khēta*, Hindī *khēt*, *khēḍā*, Panj. *khēt*, Sindhī *khētu*, Guj. *khēḍ*, Mar. *śēt*, Sinh. *keta*. Skt. *trimaṇḍala* 'Buddhist's robe,' Pāli *timaṇḍala*, Old Sinh. *dunumaṇḍul*, New Sinh. *tunmaḍulla*. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prāk., Pāli *putta*, Hindī *put*, Mar. *puti*, Sinh. *pīt*, *put*, etc. (see § 568).

tr > *dr*.

§ 573. The assimilation of *tr* to *dr* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θri* 'three,' Pāz. *se*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Wāxī *trui*, Šiyn. *arraī*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yaγn. *θaraī*, Afγ. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*.

tr > *phr*, *fr*.

§ 574. The assimilation of *tr* to *phr*, *fr*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θraētaona* nom. prop., Phl. *frētūn*, Pāz. *frēdūn*, New Pers. *farēdūn*.

tr > *r*(*r*).

§ 575. The assimilation of *tr* to *r*(*r*) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr*, *pus*(*ar*), Gab.

pūr, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Minj. *pūr*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' Phl. *citrē*, New Pers. *cīhr*, Afγ. *čēr*, Kurd. *cāra*.

tr > *l(l)*.

§ 576. The assimilation of *tr* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Yayn. *pulah*, etc. (see § 567). Old Pers. *Μιθραδάρης*, *Μιθριδάρης*, nom. prop., Phl. *miθrdāt*, New Pers. *mīlād*.

tr > *s(s)*.

§ 577. The assimilation of *tr* to *s(s)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, N. Bal. *phusaγ*, Kurd. *pisir*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *θri* 'three,' Pāz. *se*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Kurd. *sē*, etc. (see § 573). Av. *pāθra* 'protection,' Phl., New Pers. *pās*.

tr > *š(š)*.

§ 578. The assimilation of *tr* to *š(š)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θri* 'three,' Minj. *šarai*, etc. (see § 573).

tr > *hr*.

§ 579. The assimilation of *tr* to *hr* is common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Phl. *puhr*, *pus(ar)*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' New Pers. *cīhr*, etc. (see § 575). Av. *θri* 'three,' Sarq. *haroi*, etc. (see § 573).

Syncope of tr.

§ 580. The loss of the consonant-group *tr* internally is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prāk. *rāī*, *ratti*, Sinh. *rā*, *rāya*, etc. (see § 572). Skt. *mitra* 'friend,' Prāk. *mia*, *mitta*, Pāli *mitta*, Sindhī *miō*.

tv > *t(t)*.

§ 581. The assimilation of *tv* to *t(t)* is the regular one undergone by this consonant-group in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tvarita* 'quick,' Prāk. *turia*, Pāli *turita*, Hindī, Panj. *turañt*, Sindhī *turtu*, Guj. *turat*, Mar. *turūt*. Skt. *catvāraḥ* 'four,' Prāk. *cattāra*, *caūra*, Pāli *catu*, Kaśm. *čōr*, Ūr., Bang., Bihārī *cāri*, Hindī, Panj. *cār*, Sindhī *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*, Old Sinh. *siv(u)*, New Sinh. *hatarā*, *satara*, *hār*, Gyp. *štar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tūm* < **tvəm* 'thou,' Pāz. *tō*, New Pers. *tū*, Afy. *ta*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dì*.

tv > *d(d)*.

§ 582. The assimilation of *tv* to *d(d)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tūm* 'thou,' Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dì*, etc. (see preceding §).

tv > *p(p)*.

§ 583. The assimilation of *tv* to *p(p)* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, especially in the case of the Old Indian suffix *-tva*, which generally becomes *-pan*, *-paṇu*, *-puṇā*, etc., in the New Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects an assimilation of *tv* to *p(p)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥ddhatva* 'old age,' Bang. *budhāpaṇā*, *budhāpā*, Hindī *budhāpan*, Panj. *budhāpā*, Sindhī *ḅudhāpaṇu*, Guj. *budhāpō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiyn. *čavor*, *čavār*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yidg. *cūr*, Yaγn. *tfō*, Afy. *calor*, Dig. Oss. *čuppar*, *čuphphar*, Tag. *cippar*, *ciphphar*.

tv > *ph, f*.

§ 584. The assimilation of *tv* to *ph, f*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yaγn. *tfō*, Dig. Oss. *čuppar*, *čuphphar*, Tag. *cippar*, *ciphphar*, etc. (see preceding §).

$tv > b(b)$.

§ 585. The assimilation of tv to $b(b)$ is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, etc. (see § 583).

$tv > l(l)$.

§ 586. The assimilation of tv to $l(l)$ is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Afγ. *calor*, etc. (see § 583).

$tv > v(v)$.

§ 587. The assimilation of tv to $v(v)$ is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvārah* 'four,' Old Sinh. *siv(u)*, etc. (see § 581).

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Šiγn. *čavor*, *čavār*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, etc. (see § 583).

$tv > sp$.

§ 588. The assimilation of tv to sp is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θwāša* 'firmament,' Phl. *spāsar*.

$tv > h(h)$.

§ 589. The assimilation of tv to $h(h)$ is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, etc. (see § 583). Av. *frapīθwa* 'flourishing,' Phl. *frapīh*, *farpīh*, New Pers. *farbih*.

Syncope of tv.

§ 590. The loss of the consonant-group tv internally is a very rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Yidg. *cīr*, etc. (see § 583).

$ts > c(c)$.

§ 591. The assimilation of ts to $c(c)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bībhatsa* 'loathsome,' Pāli *bībhacca*. Skt.

vatsa 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Ass. *bācrū* (pron. *bāsrū*), Kaśm. *vač*, Bang. *bacchā*, *vacchā*, E. Hindī *bāchā*, W. Hindī *bačā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhī *bacō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *baerēm*, *vāsrūm*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Phl. *vacak*, *bacak*, Wāxī *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, Bal. *grac*, Kurd. *vacahā*, Dig. Oss. *vass*.

ts > (c)ch.

§ 592. The assimilation of *ts* to (c)ch is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsara* 'year,' Prāk., Pāli *vacchara*. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Bang. *vacchā*, *bacchā*, E. Hindī *bāchā*, etc. (see preceding §).

ts > š(š).

§ 593. The assimilation of *ts* to š(š) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Wāxī *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, etc. (see § 591).

ts > s(s).

§ 594. The assimilation of *ts* to s(s) is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *utsuka* 'anxious,' Prāk. *ussua*, Māhār. Prāk. *ussuya*, Jāina Prāk. *ussuka*. Skt. *vyutsarga* 'eructation,' Prāk. *viussagga*. Skt. *utsada* 'desire,' Pāli *ussada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Dig. Oss. *vass*, etc. (see § 591).

tsy > (c)c.

§ 595. The assimilation of *tsy* to (c)c is found frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pāli *maccha*, Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), Ur., Bang., Hindī *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsō*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhī *machu*, Mar. *māsā*, Sinh. *mas*, Gyp. *macō*.

tsy > (c)ch.

§ 596. The assimilation of *tsy* to (c)ch is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pāli *maccha*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsö*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhī *machu*, etc. (see preceding §).

tsy > *s(s)*.

§ 597. The assimilation of *tsy* to *s(s)* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), Bang. vulgar pron. *māsö*, Mar. *māsā*, Sinh. *mas*, etc. (see § 595).

thy > *(c)ch*.

§ 598. The assimilation of *thy* to *(c)ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pathya* 'welfare,' Prāk. *paccha*. Skt. *mithyā* 'false,' Prāk. *micchā*, Avant. Prāk. *mitthā*, Pāli *micchā*, Ass. *mica*, Uṛ. *mich*, Bang., Old Hindī *michā*, Sindhī *maṭhyān*, Sinh. *misa*.

thy > *s(s)*.

§ 599. The assimilation of *thy* to *s(s)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mithyā* 'false,' Sinh. *misa*, etc. (see preceding §).

dg > *g(g)*.

§ 600. The assimilation of *dg* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is extremely rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mudga* 'kidney-bean,' Prāk., Pāli *mugga*, Uṛ. *mūga*, Bang. *mug*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mūng*, Panj. *mugg*, Multānī *mung*, Sindhī *muṇu*, Mar. *mūg*. Skt. *mudgara* 'hammer,' Prāk., Pāli *muggara*, Uṛ. *mōgara*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhī *muṇirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *madgu* 'cormorant,' New Pers. *māy*.

dgh > *g(g)*.

§ 601. The assimilation of *dgh* to *g(g)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *uggaṭ*, *ugghāḍaṭ*, Pāli *ugghāṭeti*, Uṛ. *uganā*, Sindhī *uḡaṇu*, Guj. *ugavum*, Mar. *ugaviṇēm*.

dgh > (g)gh.

§ 602. The assimilation of *dgh* to *(g)gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *ugghāḍaṭ*, Pāli *ugghāṭeti*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *udghōṣa* 'proclamation,' Pāli *ugghōsa*.

ddh > (t)ṭh.

§ 603. The assimilation of *ddh* to *(t)ṭh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuddha* 'pure,' Prāk., Pāli *suddha*, Hindī *sudh*, Sindhī *suṭhō*.

ddh > (d)ṭh.

§ 604. The cerebralization of *ddh* is caused in the great majority of instances by the presence of *r*, *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śraddhā* 'offering to the dead,' Prāk. *saddhā*, *saddhā*, Pāli *saddhā*. Skt. *vṛddhi* 'growth,' Prāk. *vuddhi*, Pāli *vuddhi*, *vuddhi*.

dm > m(m).

§ 605. The assimilation of *dm* to *m(m)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *nišēm*, *nišēman* 'resting-place' < **nišidman*.

dm > nm.

§ 606. The assimilation of *dm* to *nm* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhinadmi* 'I split,' Gāthā *bhinanmi*.

dy > j(j).

§ 607. The assimilation of *dy* to *j(j)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prāk., Pāli *viḷḷu*, Uṛ. *bijulī*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *bījalī*, Sindhī *viḷum*, Guj. *viḷulī*, Mar. *bījalī*, *vīj*. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Prāk., Pāli *ajja*, Ass. *āji*, Kāśm.

aj, *az*, U_r., Bang. *āj*, Old Hindī *āju*, E. Hindī, Hindī *āj*, Panj. *ajj*, Sindhī *ājū*, Guj., Mar. *āj*, Simh. *ada*. Skt. *dyuti* 'light,' Prāk. *jui*, Pāli *juti*.

dy > *d(d)*.

§ 608. The assimilation of *dy* to *d(d)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Simh. *ada*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vaidya* 'physician,' Prāk., Pāli *vejja*, Simh. *veda*.

dr > *j(j)*.

§ 609. The assimilation of *dr* to *j(j)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīmd*, Sindhī *nīmḍ*, Mar. *nīj*, *nīd*, Gyp. *lindr*.

dr > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 610. The assimilation of *dr* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small,' Prāk. *khudḍa*, Pāli *khudda*, U_r. *khudatā*, Bang. *khudā*, Old Simh. *cuḍi*, Simh. *kuḍa*, *kudu*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pāli *daddu*, Hindī *dād*, Sindhī *ḍarhu*, *ḍadhu*, Guj. *dādar*, Mar. *dād*, *dādaḍ*.

dr > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 611. The assimilation of *dr* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Sindhī *ḍarhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

dr > *d(d)*.

§ 612. The assimilation of *dr* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīmd*, Mar. *nīd*, *nīj*, etc. (see § 609). Skt. *mudrā* 'seal,' Prāk., Pāli *muddā*. Skt. *drākṣa* 'grape,' Kaśm. *dach*, Hindī, Panj. *dākh*, Sindhī *ḍākh*, Gyp. *drakh*.

dr > *l(l)*.

§ 613. The assimilation of *dr* to *l(l)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhadra* 'good,' Prāk. *bhadda*, Pāli *bhadra*,

bhadda, Ass. *bhāl*, U_r. *bhala*, Bang. *bhāla*, Hindī, Panj. *bhalā*, Sindhī, Guj. *bhalō*, Mar. *bhalā*. Skt. *chidra* 'hole,' Mahār. Prāk., Pāli *chidda*, Bihārī *chēd*, Sinh. *hila*.

dr > *sr*.

§ 614. The assimilation of *dr* to *sr* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšudra* 'seed,' Phl. *susar*, Gab. *šosr*.

dr > *hr*.

§ 615. The assimilation of *dr* to *hr* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baδra* 'portion,' Phl., New Pers. *bahr*.

dv > *d(d)*.

§ 616. The assimilation of *dv* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śādvāla* 'grassy,' Pāli *saddala*. Skt. *dvāra* 'door,' Prāk. *dēra*, *duāra*, *dāra*, *bāra*, Pāli *dvāra*, U_r. *dara*, Sindhī *dāru*, *dārī*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *dār*, Sinh. *dēra*, *dora*. Skt. *dvi* 'two,' Prāk. *duce*, Pāli *dvi*, Kāśm. *zah*, U_r, Bang. *dui*, Hindī, Panj. *dō*, Sindhī *ba*, Guj. *bē*, Mar. *dōn*. Skt. *dvīpa*, 'island,' Prāk. *dīva*, Pāli *dīpa*, Sinh. *diva*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Old Pers. *duvarā*, Phl., New Pers. *dar*, Gab., Kāš. *bar*, Samn. *barī*, Wāxī *bār*, Šiyn. *divē(r)*, Sarq. *divēr*, Minj. *labra*, Afy. *var*, Kurd. *bar*, Oss. *dvar*.

dv > *b(b)*.

§ 617. The assimilation of *dv* to *b(b)* is frequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvāra* 'door,' Prāk. *bāra*, *dāra*, *duāra*, *dēra*, Guj. *bār*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *dvādaśan* 'twelve,' Prāk. *bāraha*, Pāli *bārasa*, *dvādasa*, Kāśm. *bāh*, U_r. *bāra*, Bang. *bārō*, Bihārī, Hindī *bārah*, Panj. *bārām*, Sindhī *bāraham*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Gab., Kāš. *bar*, Samn. *barī*, Wāxī *bār*, Kurd. *bar*, etc. (see § 616). Skt. *dvēṣas* 'enmity,' Av. *ḫbaēšah*, Phl. *bēš*.

dv > *v(v)*.

§ 618. The assimilation of *dv* to *v(v)* is comparatively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udvēṣṭati* 'surrounds,' Prāk. *uvvellaī*. [See now Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 107.]

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Afγ. *var*, etc. (see § 616).

dhy > (j) *jh*.

§ 619. The assimilation of *dhy* to (j) *jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass. *māj* (pron. *māz*), Kāśm. *mañz*, Ur. *mājhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Burh-vānī *maddē*, Bihārī *madhi*, Old Hindī *maddhē*, Hindī *mājhi*, *māñjh*, *māmh*, *māñjhōlā*, Panj. *māñjh*, *majjh*, Sindhī *mañjhu*, Mar. *mājh*, Elu *madu*, Sinh. *māda*, inscriptions *māinda*, Gyp. *maškarē*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *u(v)ajjhāa*, *ojjhāa*, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādhā*, Hindī *ōjhā*, Sindhī *vājhō*. Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Prāk. *bujjhaī*, Pāli *bujjhati*, Kāśm. *bōji* (pron. *bōzi*), Ur. *bujhibā*, Bang. *būjhan*, Hindī *būjhanā*, Panj. *bujjhaṇā*, Sindhī *bujhaṇu*, Guj. *bujarum*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Prāk., Pāli *jhāṇa*, Hindī *samajjhānā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Phl., New Pers. *jān*.

dhy > *d(d)*.

§ 620. The assimilation of *dhy* to *d(d)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Burh-vānī *maddē*, Elu *madu*, Sinh. *mā(m)da*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vidhyati* 'pierces,' Pāli *viñjhati*, Sinh. *vidinavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiðya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*,

Wāxī *malung*, Šīyn. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, Sangl. *mīda*, Afγ. *mlā*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mīdag*.

$dhy > (d)dh$.

§ 621. The assimilation of *dhy* to $(d)dh$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Bihārī *madhi*, Old Hindī *maddhē*, etc. (see § 619).

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍya* 'middle,' Šīyn. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, etc. (see preceding §).

$dhy > y(y)$.

§ 622. The assimilation of *dhy* to $y(y)$ is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, etc. (see § 620).

$dhy > l(l)$.

§ 623. The assimilation of *dhy* to $l(l)$ is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍya* 'middle,' Wāxī *malung*, Afγ. *mlā*, etc. (see § 620).

$dhy > z(z)$.

§ 624. The assimilation of *dhy* to $z(z)$ occurs with the utmost rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Ass. *māz* (written *māj*), Kaśm. *maṃz*, etc. (see § 619). Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Kaśm. *bōzi* (written *bōji*), etc. (see § 619).

$dhy > h(h)$.

§ 625. The assimilation of *dhy* to $h(h)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Hindī *māmh*, *māmjh(ōlā)*, *māmjh*, *mājhi*, etc. (see § 619).

$dhr > (j)jh$.

§ 626. The assimilation of *dhr* to $(j)jh$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grdhra* 'vulture,' Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *gijjha*, *gaddha*, *giddha*, Bang. *gidh*, Hindī *gīdh*, *giddh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhī *gijhu*, Guj. *gīd(h)*, Mar. *gīdh*, *gīd*, *gidhad*.

$dhr > d(d)$.

§ 627. The assimilation of *dhr* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥dhra* 'vulture,' Guj. *gīd*, *gīdh*, Mar. *gīd*, *gīdh*, *gidhad*, etc. (see preceding §):

$dhr > (d)dh$.

§ 628. The assimilation of *dhr* to *(d)dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhruva* 'firm,' Jāina Prāk. *dhruva*. Skt. *gr̥dhra* 'vulture,' Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *gaddha*, *giddha*, *gijjha*, Bang. *gidh*, Hindī *gīdh*, *giddh*, Panj. *giddh*, Guj. *gīdh*, *gīd*, Mar. *gīdh*, *gidhad*, *gīd*, etc. (see § 626).

$dhv > (j)jh$.

§ 629. The assimilation of *dhv* to *(j)jh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prāk. *jhaya*, *dhaya*, Hindī, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajō*, Sinh. *dada*. Skt. *madhvālu* 'yam,' Pāli *majjhāru*.

$dhv > d(d)$.

§ 630. The assimilation of *dhv* to *d(d)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Sinh. *dada*, etc. (see preceding §).

$dhv > (d)dh$.

§ 631. The assimilation of *dhv* to *(d)dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prāk. *dhaya*, *jhaya*, Hindī, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajō*, etc. (see § 629). Skt. *adhvan* 'road,' Prāk., Pāli *addhā*.

$nt > t(t)$.

§ 632. The assimilation of *nt* to *t(t)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *-ant* term. of pres. part. act., Prāk. *-anta*, Apab. Prāk. *-antu*, Śāur. Prāk. *-andō*, Ass. *-ōmtē*, Nāip. *-ādā*, Kāśm. *-ān*, Uṛ. *-ant*, Bang. *-it*, E. Hindī *-at*, Old Hindī *-ant*,

Hindī -atā, Panj. -a(n)dā, Sindhī -andō, Multānī -andā, -endā, Guj. -atō, Mar. -atā, -at, -īt.

nt > (t)th.

§ 633. The assimilation of *nt* to *(t)th* is not of frequent occurrence.

a. Indian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dündük*, Šīyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *danthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Tag. Oss. *dandag*. Av. *bərəzant* 'high,' New Pers. *buland*, Dig. Oss. *barzanththa* (plural), Tag. *barzaththa*.

nt > d(d).

§ 634. The assimilation of *nt* to *d(d)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Nāip. -*ādā*, Panj. -*adā*, -*andā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Kurd. *didān*, etc. (see preceding §).

nt > nd.

§ 635. The softening of *nt* to *nd* is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Śāur. Prāk. -*andō*, Panj. -*andā*, -*adā*, Sindhī -*andō*, Multānī -*andā*, -*endā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dündük*, Šīyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Tag. Oss. *dandag*, etc. (see § 633). Av. *jvant* 'living,' Phl. *zīvandak*, New Pers. *zindah*, Kāš. *janda*, Afγ. *žvand*.

nt > n(n).

§ 636. The assimilation of *nt* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Kāśm. -*ān*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *gainti* 'stench,' Phl., New Pers. *gand*, Afγ. *ganda(l)*, Kurd. *gannak* 'castor-oil plant.'

ntr > *ṇṭr*.

§ 637. The assimilation of *ntr* to *ṇṭr* is confined to the Sindhī (cf. § 569).

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhī *maṇṭru*, *maṇḍru*.

ntr > *ṇḍr*.

§ 638. The assimilation of *ntr* to *ṇḍr* also is confined to the Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhī *maṇḍru*, *maṇṭru*.

ntr > *r(r)*.

§ 639. The assimilation of *ntr* to *r(r)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *təθra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāvi*, Afy. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalīnga*, Tag. *thalīng*.

ntr > *l(l)*.

§ 640. The assimilation of *ntr* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *təθra* 'dark,' Dig. Oss. *thalīnga*, Tag. *thalīng*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *ṭ(t)*.

§ 641. The assimilation of *nth* to *ṭ(t)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prāk., Pāli *gaṇṭhi*, Sindhī *gaṇḍhi*, *ghuṇḍi*, Mar. *gaṇṭh*, Sinh. *gāṭayā*.

nth > *ṇṭh*.

§ 642. The cerebralization of *nth* is of very unusual occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prāk., Pāli *gaṇṭhi*, Mar. *gaṇṭh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Pāli *gantha*, Ur. *gaṇṭha*, Bang. *gāṇṭ*, *gāṇṭh*, Hindī *gāṇṭh*, Panj. *gaṇḍh*, *gaṇḍh*, Sindhī *gaṇḍh*, Guj., Mar. *gāṇṭh*, Sinh. *gata*.

nth > *ṇḍh*.

§ 643. The assimilation of *nth* to *ṇḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Panj. *gaṇḍh*, *gaṇḍh*, Sindhī *gaṇḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *t(t)*.

§ 644. The assimilation of *nth* to *t(t)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Sinh. *gata*, etc. (see § 642).

nth > *d(d)*.

§ 645. The assimilation of *nth* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pantan* 'way,' Phl., New Pers. *pand*, Šiyn. *pund*, Sarq. *pānd*, Sangl. *pandah*, Yidg. *pāduh*, Dig. Oss. *fand*.

nth > *nd*.

§ 646. The assimilation of *nth* to *nd* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pantan* 'way,' Phl., New Pers. *pand*, Šiyn. *pund*, Sarq. *pānd*, Sangl. *pandah*, Dig. Oss. *fand*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *ndh*.

§ 647. The softening of *nth* to *ndh* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pantha* 'way,' Prāk. *pañtha*, Pāli *pantha*, Kaśm. *pāimth*, *pāimth*, *pānth*, Sinh. *pandhu*.

ndr > *ṇḍr*.

§ 648. The cerebralization of *ndr* to *ṇḍr* is confined to the Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prāk. *canda*, *caṃda*, Pāli *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cāṃd*, also Kaśm. *čandar*, E. Hindī *cān*, Hindī, Panj. *caṃd*, Sindhī *caṃḍu*, *caṇḍru*, Sinh. *sanda*, *handa*, Maladive *ha(n)du*, Gyp. *con*.

ndr > *nd*.

§ 649. The assimilation of *ndr* to *nd* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prāk. *canda*, *caṃda*, Pāli *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cāṃd*, also Hindī, Panj. *caṃd*, Sinh. *sanda*, *handa*, Maladive *ha(n)du*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ndr > n(n)$.

§ 650. The assimilation of ndr to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' E. Hindī *cān*, Gyp. *con*, etc. (see § 648).

$ndh > t(t)$.

§ 651. The assimilation of ndh to $t(t)$ is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Phl. *baṣṭanō*, New Pers. *bandam*, Māz. *van(n)am*, Gīl. *daraddam*, Waxī *vandam*, Šīyn., Sarq. *vindam*, Bal. *bandag*, Kurd. *bandim*, Dig. Oss. *battim*, Tag. *baththin*.

$ndh > (t)th$.

§ 652. The assimilation of ndh to $(t)th$ is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Tag. Oss. *baththin*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ndh > d(d)$.

§ 653. The assimilation of ndh to $d(d)$ is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Gīl. *daraddam*, etc. (see § 651).

$ndh > nd$.

§ 654. The deaspirization of ndh is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk., Pāli *khandha*, Ass. *kānd*, *kāndh*, Uṛ., Bang. *kāndh*, Bihārī *kāndhā*, *khāmdā*, Hindī *kāmdhā*, Panj. *kandhā*, *kannh*, Sindhī *kandhu*, Guj. *khāmdō*, Mar. *khāmdā*, Simh. *kanda*.

$ndh > n(n)$.

§ 655. The assimilation of ndh to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Māz. *van(n)am*, etc. (see § 651).

$ndh > (n)nh$.

§ 656. The assimilation of ndh to $(n)nh$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhi* 'friendship, burglar's mine,' Prāk., Pāli *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kaśm. *san*, Uṛ., Bang. *simdh*, E. Hindī *sēnhi*, *sēmdh*, Hindī *sēmdh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhī *sēmdhi*, Multānī

sandh. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Panj. *kannh*, *kandhā*, etc. (see § 654). Skt., Pāli *andhakāra* 'darkness,' Hindī *aṁdhērā*, *aṁdhīyārā*, Panj. *annhērā*.

ndhy > *ñj(j)*.

§ 657. The assimilation of *ndhy* to *ñj(j)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhyā* 'twilight,' Prāk. *sañjhā*, Pāli *sañjhā*, Uṛ. *sāñjh*, Bang. *sāñj*, *sāñjh*, Bihārī, Hindī *sāñjh*, Panj. *sañjh*, Sindhī *sāñjhī*, *sañjhā*, Guj. *sāñj*, Mar. *sāñj*, *sāñjh*.

ndhy > *ñ(j)jh*.

§ 658. The assimilation of *ndhy* to *ñ(j)jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhyā* 'twilight,' Prāk. *sañjhā*, Pāli *sañjhā*, Uṛ. *sāñjh*, Bang. *sāñjh*, *sāñj*, Bihārī, Hindī *sāñjh*, Panj. *sañjh*, Sindhī *sañjhā*, *sañjhī*, Mar. *sāñjh*, *sāñj*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *bandhya* 'barren,' Pāli *vañjha*, Ass. *bāñji*, Uṛ. *bāñjha*, Bang. *bāñjhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāñjh*, Panj. *bañjh*, Guj., Mar. *vāñjh*.

nm > *mm*.

§ 659. The assimilation of *nm* to *mm* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *janman* 'birth,' Prāk., Pāli *jamma*. Skt. *unmārga* 'underground watercourse,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *um-magga*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saēna mərəya* 'eagle-bird,' Phl. *sēnmurv*, New Pers. *sīmury*.

ny > *ñj*.

§ 660. The assimilation of *ny* to *ñj* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Māg. Prāk. *kaññakā*, Pāis. Prāk. *kañjā*, *kaññakā*, Pāli *kaññā*, Panj. *kaniā*, Sindhī *kañā*.

ny > *ñ(ñ)*.

§ 661. The assimilation of *ny* to *ñ(ñ)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Māg. Prāk. *kaññakā*, Pāis. Prāk. *kaññakā*, *kañjā*, Pāli *kaññā*, Sindhī *kañā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *añña*, *anna*, Pāli *añña*, Old Hindī *ani*, Simh. *añk(ak)*, *añkek*.

ny > *ṇ(ṇ)*.

§ 662. The assimilation of *ny* to *ṇ(ṇ)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śūnya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *suṇṇa*, *sunna*, Pāli *suñña*, Ass. *sunā*, Kaśm. *chōnōī*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sūn(ā)*, Panj. *sunn(ā)*, Sindhī *suñā*, Guj. *sun*, *suṇn*, Mar. *sunā*.

ny > *n(n)*.

§ 663. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *manyāmi* 'I think,' Jāina Prāk. *mannāmi* (cf. Skt. *manyē*, Prāk. *mannē*, Pāli *maññē*). Skt. *śūnya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *sunna*, *suṇṇa*, Ass. *sunā*, Kaśm. *chōnōī*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sūn(ā)*, Panj. *sunn(ā)*, Guj. *sun*, *suṇn*, Mar. *sunā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *anna*, *añña*, Old Hindī *ani*, etc. (see § 661).

b. Iranian. Av. *nyāka* 'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afγ. *nīka*, Bal. *nākū*, N. Bal. *nāxō*. Av. *anya* 'other,' Old Pers. *aniya*, Pāz. *han*, Oss. *inna*.

nv > *n(n)*.

§ 664. The assimilation of *nv* to *n(n)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvēṣaṇa* 'inquiry,' Māhār. Prāk. *annēsaṇa*.

pt > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 665. The assimilation of *pt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptaṣaṣṭī* 'sixty-seven,' Prāk. *sattasatṭhī*, Kaśm. *satahāiṭh*, Ur. *satṣaṭhi*, Bang. *sāṭsaṭṭhi*, Bihārī *sarasatṭh*, *sarasatṭhi*, *satasatṭhi*, Hindī *sarsatṭh*, *satsatṭh*, Panj. *satāhaṭ*, Sindhī *sathaṭṭhi*, Guj. *saḍsēṭh*, Mar. *satsaṣṭ*.

$pt > t(t)$.

§ 666. The assimilation of pt to $t(t)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptan* 'seven,' Prāk., Pāli *satta*, Kaśm. *sath*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhī *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*, Sinh. *sata*, *hata*. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' Prāk., Pāli *sutta*, Sindhī *sutō*.

b. Iranian. Av. $\sqrt{x^a}ap$ 'to sleep,' Phl. x^a astanō, New Pers. *xuftan*, Gab. *xuftmūn*, Zaf. *vōft*, Kāš. *xūt*, Vōn. *xuft*, Kuhr. *xut*, Nāy. *havōftand*, Māz. *xūt*, Waxī *riṣpam*, Šīyn. *šovsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsay*, Dig. Oss. *xussun*, Tag. *xussin*. Phl. *kaftanō* 'to fall,' Gab. *kaftmūn*, Kāš. *darkatan*, *darkaftan*, Māz. *dakatan*, Gil. *bakaftan*, Bal. *kapag*, Kurd. *katin*.

$pt > d(d)$.

§ 667. The assimilation of pt to $d(d)$ is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' New Pers. *xuftah*, Afy. *ūda*. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' New Pers. *taft*, Afy. *tōd*, S. Oss. *thafth*.

$pt > (d)dh$.

§ 668. The assimilation of pt to $(d)dh$ is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Waxī *hūb*, (*h*)ub, Šīyn. *vuvd*, Sarq. *ūd*, Sangl. *hoft*, Minj. *uđ*, Yidg. *avduh*, Yaγn. *av*, Afy. *ōra*, *ara*, Oss. *avd*, Dig. also *aft*.

$pt > pht, ft$.

§ 669. The spirantization of pt to ft occurs not infrequently in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Sangl. *hoft*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, *avd*, etc. (see preceding §).

$pt > phth, fth$.

§ 670. The double spirantization of pt to $phth, fth$, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' S. Oss. *thafth*, etc. (see § 667).

$pt > b(b)$.

§ 671. The assimilation of pt to $b(b)$ is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Waxī *hūb*, (*h*)*ub*, etc. (see § 668).

$pt > r(r)$.

§ 672. The assimilation of pt to $r(r)$ is excessively rare (cf. § 230).

a. Indian. Skt. *saptaśaṣṭi* 'sixty-seven,' Bihārī *sarasaṭhi*, *sarasaṭh*, *satasaṭhi*, Hindī *sarsaṭh*, *satsaṭh*, etc. (see § 665).

$pt > v(v)$.

§ 673. The assimilation of pt to $v(v)$ is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Yaγn. *av*, Afγ. *ōva*, *ava*, etc. (see § 668).

$pt > vd$.

§ 674. The softening of the consonant-group pt to vd is not very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Šiγn. *vurd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, Yidg. *arduh*, Oss. *avd*, etc. (see § 668).

$pn > pp$.

§ 675. The assimilation of pn to pp is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śvapna* 'sleep,' Pāli *soppa*, *supina*. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Prāk. *pāūṇaī*, *pāvaī*, Pāli *pappōti*, *pāpuṇāti*, Uṛ. *pā*, Bang. *pāō*, Old Hindī *pāū*, Hindī *pā(v)*, Panj. *pāū*, Sindhī *pā*, Guj. *pām*, Mar. *pāv*, Sinh. *pāmiṇenavā*.

$pn > f(f)$.

§ 676. The assimilation of pn to $f(f)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *tafnu* 'heat,' New Pers. *taf*.

$pn > m(m)$.

§ 677. The assimilation of pn to $m(m)$ is very rare (cf. § 291).

a. Indian. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Sinh. *pāmiṇenavā*, etc. (see § 675).

$pny > m(m)$.

§ 678. The assimilation of pny to $m(m)$ is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšafr̥nya* 'supper,' Phl., New Pers. *šām*.

$py > p(p)$.

§ 679. The assimilation of py to $p(p)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kupyati* 'is angry,' Prāk. *kuppaī*, Pāli *kup-pati*, Bihārī *kōpāi*. Skt. *tapyatē* 'is warmed,' Pāli *tappati*.

$pr > p(p)$.

§ 680. The assimilation of pr to $p(p)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paḍi*, Pāli *pati*, *paṭi*, New Ind. dialects *paḍ(i)*. Skt. *apriya* 'offensive,' Prāk. *appia*, Pāli *appiya*. Skt. *prasthāpana* 'sending,' Ur. *paṭhārbā*, Bang. *pāṭhān*, Hindī *paṭhānā*, Sindhī *paṭhanu*, Guj. *pāṭhavun*, Mar. *pāṭaviṇm̐*.

$pr > r(r)$.

§ 681. The assimilation of pr to $r(r)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *fra* 'forward,' Phl. *fra*, *far*, New Pers. *far*, *fir*, Pāmir dialects *ra*, Kurd. *hal*, *hil*. Phl. *frōxtanō* 'to sell,' New Pers. *furōxtan*, Zaf. *baxrōš* 'sell!' Vōn. *barūš*, Kuhr. *baxrūš*, Samn. *narūšum*, Māz. *rūš*, *rūt*, N. Bal. *šavaškay*, *šōškay*. Av. *fraš* 'forward,' Phl. *frāc*, Pāz. *frāz*, *fraž*, New Pers. *farāz*, Oss. *razai*.

$pr > hl$.

§ 682. The assimilation of pr to hl is very rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *zufar*, *zafar*, New Pers. *žarf*, Judaeo-Pers. *zōrf*, Afγ. *žavar*, Bal. *juhl*, Kurd. *žōr*, Zaza *jōr*.

$p\check{s} > \check{s}(\check{s})$.

§ 683. The assimilation of $p\check{s}$ to $\check{s}(\check{s})$ is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *fšarəma* 'shame,' Phl., New Pers. *šarm*, Dig. Oss. *afsarmi*, Tag. *afsarm*. Av. **fšu-pāna* 'shepherd,' Phl. *š(u)pān*, New Pers. *šubān*, Waxī *spūn*, *šüpün*, Bal. *sipānk*, N. Bal. *šavānkh*, *šafānkh*.

$ps > (c)ch$.

§ 684. The assimilation of ps to $(c)ch$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *apsarā* 'nymph,' Prāk., Pāli *accharā*, Old Hindi *accharī*, *apchar*, Sindhī *apcharā*. Skt. *jugupsati* 'despises,' Prāk. *du(g)ucchaī*, *du(g)uñchaī*, Pāli *jigucchati*.

$ps > bz$.

§ 685. The softening of ps to bz is very rare.

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsā* 'wasp,' Old High Germ. *wafsa*, Bal. *grabz*, *gramz*.

$ps > mz$.

§ 686. The assimilation of ps to mz is extremely rare (cf. § 291).

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsā* 'wasp,' Bal. *gramz*, *grabz*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ps > vs$.

§ 687. The assimilation of ps to vs is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *afsār* 'headstall,' New Pers. *afsār*, Šiyn., Sarq. *avsār*.

$ps > s(s)$.

§ 688. The assimilation of ps to $s(s)$ is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xʷafsata* 'sleep ye!' Phl. *xʷafsātānō*, New Pers. *xuspidān*, Šiyn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsaγ*, Dig. Oss. *xussun*, Tag. *xussin*.

$pstr > str$.

§ 689. The assimilation of $pstr$ to str is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xrafstra* 'noxious beast,' Phl. *xrafstr*, New Pers. (Pārsi) *xarāstar*, archaic *xrafstar*.

$fs > ps$.

§ 690. The hardening of Iranian fs to ps occurs very seldom.

b. Iranian. Av. *xrafsata* 'sleep ye!' Bal. *vapsag*, etc. (see § 688).

$bj > j(j)$.

§ 691. The assimilation of bj to $j(j)$ is found but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Prāk., Pāli *khujja*, Kaśm. *kobb*, Ur. *kūjā*, Bang. *ku(m)jā*, *kubja*, Hindī *kubjā*, *kubbā*, *kubrā* (rare), Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhī *kuḃō*, Guj. *kubarō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubaḍā*.

$bj > bḍ$.

§ 692. The assimilation of bj to $bḍ$ is very rare (cf. § 182).

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Hindī *kubrā* (rare), *kubbā*, *kubjā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$bj > b(b)$.

§ 693. The assimilation of bj to $b(b)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Kaśm. *kobb*, Hindī *kubbā*, *kubjā*, *kubrā*, Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhī *kuḃō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubaḍā*, etc. (see § 691).

$bd > d(d)$.

§ 694. The assimilation of bd to $d(d)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śabda* 'word,' Prāk., Pāli *sadda*, Old Hindī *sād*.

$bdh > (d)dh$.

§ 695. The assimilation of bdh to $(d)dh$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *labdha* 'received,' Prāk., Pāli *laddha*, Sindhī *ludhō*.

$br > b(b)$.

§ 696. The assimilation of br to $b(b)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. *baṃbhaṇa*, inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *bamana*, Jaina Prāk. *māhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bāṃhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhī *bāmbhaṇu*, Sinh. *bamba*.

bhy > (b)bh.

§ 697. The assimilation of *bhy* to (b)bh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *abhyantara* 'internal,' Prāk., Pāli *abbhantara*, U_r., Bang. *bhitari*, Bihārī, Hindī *bhitār*, Guj. *bhitār*, Mar. *bhitari*. Skt. *labhyatē* 'is taken,' Prāk. *labbhaṣi*, Pāli *labbhati*, Old Hindī *labbh*, Sindhī *labh*.

bhr > b(b).

§ 698. The assimilation of *bhr* to b(b) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pāli *bhamara*, U_r. *bhamara*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindī, Panj. *bhaṃvar*, *bhāuṃr*, Sindhī *bhāuṃru*, Mar. *bhōṃr*, Sinh. *bambarā*.

bhr > (b)bh.

§ 699. The assimilation of *bhr* to (b)bh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhrātar* 'brother,' Prāk. *bhāā*, Pāli *bhātā*, New Ind. dialects *bhāi*, also Panj. *bhrāū*, Sindhī *bhāū*, Mar. *bhāū*, Gyp. *phral*. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pāli *bhamara*, U_r. *bhamara*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindī, Panj. *bhaṃvar*, *bhāuṃr*, Sindhī *bhāuṃru*, Mar. *bhōṃr*, etc. (see preceding §).

bhr > *vr*.

§ 700. The assimilation of *bhr* to *vr* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *bhāt(ar)*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kāš. *barō*, *barāi*, Gīl. *brār*, Waxī *vrūt*, Šīyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yayn. *virāt*, Afy. *vrōr*,

Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāṣ*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *aura* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *abr*, Gab., Kāš. *avr*, Judaeo-Pers. *abr*, Afγ. *varyaḡ*, Bal. *havr*, Kurd. (*h*)*avr*, *hāūr*, Oss. *arv*.

$mn > mm$.

§ 701. The assimilation of *mn* to *mm* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *kamna* 'small,' Phl., New Pers. *kam*.

$mp > p(p)$.

§ 702. The assimilation of *mp* to *p(p)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *parampara* 'reciprocal,' Pāli *parampara*, Sinh. *parapura*. Skt. *campaka* 'sort of tree,' Apab. Prāk. *caṇpayu*, Pāli *campaka*, Sinh. *sapu*.

$mp > mb$.

§ 703. The softening of *mp* to *mb* is quite a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk. *kampaṛi*, Pāli *kampati*, Ass. *kāmp*, Kāśm. *kaṁ(p)*, Uṛ. *kamp*, Bang. *kāmp*, Hindī *kāmp*, Panj. *kamb*, Sindhī *kāmb*, Guj., Mar. *kāmp*.

b. Iranian. Av. *hampāfrāiti* (intens.) 'fills,' Phl., New Pers. *ambāštan* (written *anbāštan*).

$mb > b(b)$.

§ 704. The assimilation of *mb* to *b(b)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' Prāk., Pāli *kambala*, Uṛ. *kaṁālā*, Bang. *kambal*, *kaṁli*, E. Hindī *kaṁmar*, Hindī *kammāl*, *kaṁbal*, Panj. *kammāl*, *kaṁbal*, Sindhī *kaṁari*, Guj. *kābālō*, *kāmaḷ*, *kaṁālī*, Mar. *kāmbālā*.

$mb > m(m)$.

§ 705. The assimilation of *mb* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*. Skt. *jambuka* 'rose-apple,' Ass. *jāmu*, Bang. *jām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *jāmun*, Sindhī *jāmūn*, Guj. *jāmbu*, Mar. *jāmb*. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' Uṛ. *kamālā*, E. Hindī *kammar*, Hindī *kammal*, *kāmbal*, Panj. *kammal*, *kāmbal*, Sindhī *kamari*, Guj. *kāmāl*, *kamālī*, *kābalō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *līm̐ba*, Pāli *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindī *līm*, *nīm*, Sindhī *limu*, Guj. *līm̐baḍō*, Mar. *līm̐b*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šikumb* 'stomach,' New Pers. *šikum*, Kurd. *zik*. New Pers. *hambāz* 'comrade,' Kurd. *hamēs*, *xamīz*.

mbh > *m(m)*.

§ 706. The assimilation of *mbh* to *m(m)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Prāk. *kumbhaāra*, *kumbhāra*, Pāli *kumbhakāra*, Ass. *kumār*, Nāip. *kumāmlyē*, Uṛ. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, Bang. *kumār*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *kumhār*, Sindhī *kum̐bharu*, Guj., Mar. *kumbhār*.

mbh > *mh*.

§ 707. The assimilation of *mbh* to *mh* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Uṛ. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *kumhār*, etc. (see preceding §).

mbh > *hm*.

§ 708. The assimilation of *mbh* to *hm* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Uṛ. *kuhmāra*, *kumhāra*, etc. (see § 706).

mr > *mbr* > *mb*.

§ 709. Insertion of *b* in the group *mr* and subsequent assimilation to *mb* is found in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prāk. *tamba*, *tambira*, Pāli *tamba*, Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, Uṛ. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Sindhī *ṭāmō*, Guj. *tāmbuṇi*, Mar. *tāmbēm*, Sinh. *tāmbara*. Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' Prāk., Pāli

amba, U_r., Bang., Hindī *ām*, *amb*, Panj. *amab*, Sindhī *ambu*, Larī *āmō*, *āmū*, Guj. *āmbō*, Mar. *āmbā*, Sinh. *ambā*.

mr > *mbr* > *m(n)*.

§ 710. Insertion of *b* in the group *mr* and subsequent assimilation to *m(n)* is found in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, U_r. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Sindhī *ṭāmō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' U_r., Bang. *ām*, *amb*, Larī *āmō*, *āmū*, etc. (see preceding §).

mv > *m(n)*.

§ 711. The assimilation of *mv* to *m(n)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamwārah* 'ever' beside *hamārah*.

nh > *ngh*.

§ 712. The assimilation of *nh* to *ngh* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *siṃha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Māhār. Prāk. *siṃgha*, *sīha*, Pāli *sīha*, Gāthā *sīṃha*, Kaśm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *sīṅgh*, *siṅgh*, *sīṃh*, Panj. *siṅgh*, other New Ind. dialects *siṃh* (pron. and often written *siṅgh*).

rk > *k(k)*.

§ 713. The assimilation of *rk* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is very rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *arka* 'sun,' Prāk., Pāli *akka*. Skt. *karkara* 'gravel,' Ass., Nāip. *kāṃkar*, Bang. *kāṃkar*. Skt. *karkaṭa* 'crab,' Pāli *kakkataka*, U_r., Bang. *kāṃkarā*, E. Hindī *kēkarā*, *kēkarā*, Hindī *kāṃkarā*, Sindhī *kāṃkarō*. Skt. *karkaṭikā* 'cucumber,' U_r., Bang. *kā(n)kuḍī*, Hindī, Panj. *ka(k)kaḍī*, Sindhī *kakiḍī*, Guj., Mar. *kākaḍī*. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkara*, *sakkhara*, New Ind. dialects *sakkar*, except Mar. *sākhar*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *sirkah* 'vinegar' beside *sikah*.

$rk > (k)kh$.

§ 714. The assimilation of rk to $(k)kh$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkhara*, *sakkara*, Mar. *sākhar*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rk > t(t)$.

§ 715. The change of rk to $t(t)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 119?).

a. Indian. Skt. *kurkura* 'dog' besides *kukkura*, Pāli *kukkura*, Bang. *kuttā*, *kukkur*, Bihārī *kutta*, *kuk(k)ar*, Hindī *kuttā*, *kukkā*, Sindhī *kutō*, Guj. *kutrō*, Mar. *kutrā*.

$rk > tr$.

§ 716. The change of rk to tr is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kurkura*, *kukkura* 'dog,' Guj. *kutrō*, Mar. *kutrā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rg > g(g)$.

§ 717. The assimilation of rg to $g(g)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varga* 'row,' Prāk., Pāli *vagga*. Skt. *mārga-yati* 'seeks,' Prāk. *maggañ*, Pāli *maggati*, *maggēti*, Ass. *māg*, Kāśm. *maṁg*, Ur. *māg*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *māṁg*, Panj. *maṁg*, Sindhī *mañ*, Guj., Mar. *māg*, Gyp. *mang*.

$rgr > (g)gh$.

§ 718. The assimilation of rgr to $(g)gh$ is found but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirgrantha* 'ascetic,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi) *nighaṁta*.

$rgḥ > g(g)$.

§ 719. The assimilation of $rgḥ$ to $g(g)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārgḥa* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahaṁgā*, *magar*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahaṁgā*, Panj. *mahiṁgā*, Sindhī *mahaṁgō*, Guj. *mōṁghuñ*, Mar. *mahāg*, Māladive *agu*.

*rg*h > (*g*)gh.

§ 720. The assimilation of *rg*h to (*g*)gh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirghṛṇa* 'pitiless,' Prāk. *nigghṇa*. Skt. *argha* 'sacrifice,' Pāli *aggha*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *diggha*, *dīha*, Pāli *dīgha*, Sindhī *ḍrighō*.

*rg*h > *h*(*h*).

§ 721. The assimilation of *rg*h to *h*(*h*) is extremely rare (cf. § 152).

a. Indian. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *dīha*, *diggha*, etc. (see preceding §).

rj > *j*(*j*).

§ 722. The assimilation of *rj* to *j*(*j*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garjita* 'must-elephant,' Prāk. *gajjida*, Pāli *gajjita*. Skt. *garjana* 'thunder,' Pāli *gajjana*, Hindī *gājanā*, Panj. *gajjaṇā*, Sindhī *gaṇaṇu*, Guj. *gājavuṇ*, Mar. *gājaṇēṇ*.

rj > *rz*.

§ 723. The change of *rj* to *rz* is very rare (cf. § 185).

b. Iranian. Av. *arajah* 'value,' Phl. *arj*, Pāz. *arzān*, New Pers. *arz*, Kāš. *ažū*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, Afγ. *yarz*.

rj > *ž*(*ž*).

§ 724. The assimilation of *rj* to *ž*(*ž*) is extremely rare (cf. § 186).

b. Iranian. Av. *arajah* 'value,' Kāš. *ažū*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, etc. (see preceding §).

rjh > (*j*)jh.

§ 725. The assimilation of *rjh* to (*j*)jh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirjhara* 'cascade,' Prāk., Pāli *nijjhara*.

rn > *n*(*n*).

§ 726. The assimilation of *rn* to *n*(*n*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Prāk. *suvaṇṇa*, Pāli *soṇṇa*, *svaṇṇa*, Kaśm. *son*, U_r. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Bang. *sōṇā*, Hindī, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhī *sō(h)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunam*, *sōnēm*, Gyp. *somnakāy*.

$ṛṇ > n(n)$.

§ 727. The assimilation of $ṛṇ$ to $n(n)$ is very frequent in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kārṇa* 'ear,' Pāli *kaṇṇa*, U_r., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *kān*, Panj. *kann*, Sindhī *kanu*, Guj., Mar. *kan*, Gyp. *kan*. Skt. *tāmraparṇa* 'copper-leaf, Ceylon,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar, Khālsi, and Kapur di Giri) *tāmbapa(h)ni*, Pāli *tambapaṇṇī* (Gr. Ταμροβάνη). Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Kaśm. *son*, U_r. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Hindī, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhī *sō(h)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunam*, *sōnēm*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ūrṇa* 'wool,' Pāli *uṇṇa*, Hindī *ūn*, Panj. *unn*, Sindhī, Guj. *un*.

$ṛṇ > r(r)$.

§ 728. The assimilation of $ṛṇ$ to $r(r)$ is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'powder,' Prāk., Pāli *cunṇa*, Kaśm. *čūn*, U_r. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindī *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhī *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, but also with the signification 'lime,' U_r., Bang. *cunā*, Hindī, Panj. *cūnā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cūnō*, *cūṇō*, Mar. *cunā*, *cūṇā*. Skt. *pūrṇa* 'full,' Pāli *puṇṇa*, U_r., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *pūrā*, Sindhī *pūrō*, Guj. *purō*, Mar. *purā*.

$rt > rth$.

§ 729. The aspirization of rt to rth is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *saršta* 'cold,' Phl. *sarṭ*, New Pers. *sard*, Waxī *sūr(ī)*, Afγ. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sarth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*.

$rt > ṭ(t)$.

§ 730. The assimilation of rt to $ṭ(t)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nartakī* 'dancing-girl,' Prāk. *naṭṭaī*, Pāli

naṭṭakī, New Ind. dialects *naṭī*. Skt. *vartakā* 'quail,' Pāli *vaṭṭakā*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *vaṭēr*, Sindhī *baṭērō*, Sinh. *vaṭuvā*.

$rt > ḍ(ḍ)$.

§ 731. The assimilation of *rt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare (cf. § 226).

a. Indian. Skt. *garta* 'ditch,' Prāk. *gaḍḍa*, Uṛ. *gaḍibā*, Bang. *gaḍ*, Hindī *gaḍ*, *gāḍā*, Panj. *gaḍḍanā*, Sindhī *gāraṇu*, Guj. *gāravum*, Mar. *gāraṇēm*.

$rt > t(t)$.

§ 732. The assimilation of *rt* to *t(t)* is very common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *muhūrta* 'instant,' Prāk., Pāli *muhutta*. Skt. *āvarta* 'whirlpool,' Pāli *āvatta*, *āvaṭṭa*. Skt. *vartikā* 'wick,' Prāk. *vattiā*, Pāli *vaṭṭikā*, Uṛ. *bati*, Bang. *bāṭī*, Hindī, Panj. *batti*, Sindhī *raṭī*, Guj. *bati*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *kartari* 'scissors,' Prāk. *kattarī*, Uṛ. *katurā*, Bang. *kataran*, Hindī, Panj. *kataranī*, Sindhī *katari*, Mar. *kātar*.

$rt > d(ḍ)$.

§ 733. The assimilation of *rt* to *d(ḍ)* is extremely rare (cf. § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *karəta* 'knife,' Phl. *kārt*, New Pers. *kārd*, Šiyn. *cēd*, Kurd. *kīrd*, *kīr*, Oss. *khard*.

$rt > rd$.

§ 734. The softening of *rt* to *rd* is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəta* 'knife,' New Pers. *kārd*, Kurd. *kīrd*, *kīr*, Oss. *khard*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vartakā* 'quail,' Phl. *vaṭtak*, New Pers. *vardīj*, Waxī *volc*, Afy. *nvaraz*, Bal. *gardāg*, Kurd. *vardī*.

$rt > r(r)$.

§ 735. The assimilation of *rt* to *r(r)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Waxī *sūr(i)*, Kurd. *sār*, etc.

(see § 729). Av. *karəta* 'knife,' Kurd. *kīr*, *kīrd*, etc. (see § 733).

rt > l(l).

§ 736. The assimilation of *rt* to *l(l)* is extremely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *pərətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, New Pers. *pul*, Gil. *purđ*, Kurd. *pēl*, *par*, *pird*, *purđ*.

rt > ld.

§ 737. The softening of *rt* to *ld* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Tag. Oss. *sald*, etc. (see § 729).

rt > hl.

§ 738. The change of *rt* to *hl* is found occasionally (cf. §§ 227, 742).

b. Iranian. Av. *pərətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhl*, *puhr*, etc. (see § 736).

rth > t(t).

§ 739. The assimilation of *rth* to *t(t)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *artha* 'object,' Prāk. *attha*, *aṭṭha* (cf. inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *anaṭha*), Pāli *aṭṭa*, *aṭṭha*, *attha*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cottha*, Pāli *catuttha*, Ur. *cāuṭhā*, Bang. *cāuṭā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāuṁthā*.

rth > (t)th.

§ 740. The assimilation of *rth* to *(t)th* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *artha* 'object,' Prāk. *aṭṭha*, *attha* (Kapur di Giri) *anaṭha*, Pāli *aṭṭha*, *attha*, *aṭṭa*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cauṭṭha*, *cottha*, Śaur. Prāk. *caduṭṭha*, Ur. *cāuṭhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

rth > (t)th.

§ 741. The assimilation of *rth* to *(t)th* is the normal one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cottha*, Pāli *catuttha*,

Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāunthā*, etc. (see § 739).

rth > *hl*.

§ 742. The change of *rth* to *hl* occurs with extreme rarity in the Iranian dialects (cf. §§ 354, 245, 956).

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *parthava* nom. prop., Phl., New Pers. *pahlav*. Skt. *samartha* 'suitable,' New Pers. *hamāl*.

rd > *ḍ(ḍ)*

§ 743. The assimilation of *rd* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *chardati* 'rejects,' Prāk. *chadḍati*, Pāli *chaḍḍeti*, Ass. *cār* (pron. *sār*), Kaśm. *char*, *čar*, U_r., Bang. *chār*, Old Hindī *chanḍ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *chāmṛ*, Panj. *chadḍ*, Sindhī *chaḍ*, Mar. *sāmṛ*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gadrabha*, but *gaddabhaṇḍa*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, U_r. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddā*, Sindhī *gaḍḍahu*, Guj. *gadhērō*, Mar. *gādhav*, Gyp. *khel*, *kher*, (*k*)*fer*.

rd > (*ḍ*)*dh*.

§ 744. The assimilation of *rd* to (*ḍ*)*dh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Mar. *gādhav*, etc. (see preceding §).

rd > *d(ḍ)*.

§ 745. The assimilation of *rd* to *d(ḍ)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturdaśa* 'fourteen,' Prāk. *caūddaha*, Pāli *catuddasa*, *cōddasa*, *cuddasa*, Kaśm. *čōdāh*, U_r. *cāuda*, Bang. *cāudda*, Bihārī, Hindī *cāudah*, Panj. *cāudām*, Sindhī *cōḍahan*, Guj. *caūd*, Mar. *cāudā*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Panj. *gaddā*, *gadhā*, etc. (see § 743).

rd > (*ḍ*)*dh*.

§ 746. The assimilation of *rd* to (*ḍ*)*dh* is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Ass. *gādh*, Uṛ. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddā*, Guj. *gadhērō*, etc. (see § 743).

rd > *r(r)*.

§ 747. The assimilation of *rd* to *r(r)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kapardikā* 'small shell,' Prāk. *kavaḍḍa*, E. Hindī, Hindī *kāurī*, *kāūrī*, Anglo-Ind. *coury*.

rd > *l(l)*.

§ 748. The assimilation of *rd* to *l(l)* is exceedingly rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is not infrequent (cf. §§ 354, 258).

a. Indian. Skt. *balivarda* 'bull,' Prāk. *bailla*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəda* 'year,' Phl., New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, Tag. *sard*.

rdh > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 749. The assimilation of *rdh* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Prāk. *vaḍḍhai*, Pāli *vaḍḍhati*, Ass. *bārḥ*, Kaśm. *baḍ*, Uṛ. *barḥ*, Bang. *baḍ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāḍh*, W. Hindī *barḥ*, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *vadh*, Mar. *bāḍh*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prāk. *saddha*, *saḍḍha*, Kaśm. *sādū*, Uṛ. *sārḥē*, Bang. *sārē*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sārḥē*, Panj. *sāḍhē*, Sindhī *sāḍhā*, Guj. *sāḍā*, Mar. *sāḍē*, Sinh. *aḍa*.

rdh > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 750. The assimilation of *rdh* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Prāk. *vaḍḍhai*, Pāli *vaḍḍhati*, Ass. *bārḥ*, Uṛ. *barḥ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāḍh*, W. Hindī *barḥ*, Mar. *bāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vardhaki* 'carpenter,' Uṛ., Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *barḥāi*, Panj. *baḍḍhī*, Sindhī, Guj. *vāḍhō*, Mar. *varḥāi*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prāk. *saddha*,

saddha, Ur., E. Hindī, Hindī *sārh̄*², Panj. *sādhē*, Sindhī *sādhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

rdh > (d)dh.

§ 751. The assimilation of *rdh* to (d)dh is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhat*² 'grows,' Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *vadh*, etc. (see § 749).

rdhv > (d)dh.

§ 752. The assimilation of *rdhv* to (d)dh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prāk., Pāli *uddha*, *ubbha*, Sindhī *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhum*, Mar. *ubhā*.

rdhv > (b)bh.

§ 753. The assimilation of *rdhv* to (b)bh is frequent in the Indian dialects (*rdhv* > *ddhv* > *ddhb* > *dhb* > *bhb*).

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prāk., Pāli *ubbha*, *uddha*, Sindhī *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhum*, Mar. *ubhā*.

rn > *n*(n).

§ 754. The assimilation of *rn* to *n*(n) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in Afyān, which has borrowed the cerebral row from the Indian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəna* 'deaf,' New Pers. *kar(r)*, Laym. *kanna*, Sarq. *cünn*, Afy. *kōn*, *kūn*, Oss. *kurmatha*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par(r)*, Gab., Waxī *par*, Afy. *pāna*, Bal. *pan*, Kurd. *par*, Zaza *pal*.

rn > *n*(n).

§ 755. The assimilation of *rn* to *n*(n) is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəna* 'deaf,' Laym. *kanna*, Sarq. *cünn*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ūrṇa* 'wool,' Šiyn. *vūn*, *vōn*, Sarq. *vōn*. Av. *parəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *pur*, Yayn. *pun*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Bal. *pan*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rn > r(r)$.

§ 756. The assimilation of rn to $r(r)$ is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *darəna* 'gullet,' New Pers. *darrah*, Waxī *δōr*, Sarq. *dar*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par(r)*, Gab., Waxī, Kurd. *par*, etc. (see § 754). Av. *x^varənah* 'glory,' Old Pers. *vīda]*farnah, Phl. *farn]*bag, New Pers. *far(r)*.

$rn > l(l)$.

§ 757. The assimilation of rn to $l(l)$ is very rare (cf. §§ 354, 281).

b. Iranian. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Zaza *pal*, etc. (see § 754).

$rp > p(p)$.

§ 758. The assimilation of rp to $p(p)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prāk., Pāli *sappa*, Ur., Bang. *sāp*, Hindī *sāmp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhī *sapu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Simh. *sapu*, *sap(ā)*, *hapu*, Gyp. *sap*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Prāk., Pāli *kappūra*, New Ind. dialects *kapūr*, except Mar. *kāpūr*.

$rb > b(b)$.

§ 759. The assimilation of rb to $b(b)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *arbuda* 'ten million raised to the eighth power,' Pāli *abbuda*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dūbar*, Hindī *dublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhī *ḍubīrō*, *ḍabalō*, Guj., Mar. *dubal*.

$rbh > (b)bh$.

§ 760. The assimilation of rbh to $(b)bh$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dial

a. Indian. Skt. *garbha* 'uterus,' Prāk., Pāli *gabbha*, Hindī *garabh*, *gābh*, Panj. *gabbh*, *gābh*, *garabh*, Sindhī *gābhu*, *garabhu*, Guj., Mar. *gābh*, cf. also Gyp. *khabnī* 'pregnant.'

$rm > m(m)$.

§ 761. The assimilation of rm to $m(m)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *carman* 'skin,' Prāk., Pāli *camma*, New Ind. dialects *cām*, excepting Panj. *camm*, Sindhī *canu*, Sinh. *sama*, *hama*. Skt. *karman* 'deed,' Prāk., Pāli *kamma*, New Ind. dialects *kām*, excepting Panj. *kamm*, Sindhī *kamu*, Sinh. *kama*.

$rm > r(r)$.

§ 762. The assimilation of rm to $r(r)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *carəman* 'skin,' Phl. *carmīn*, New Pers. *carm*, Afy. *čarman*, Tag. Oss. *čar*, *čarm*. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garma*-, New Pers., Šīn. *garm*, Sarq. *gürm*, *žürm*, Afy. *γarma*, Bal. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *γar*, *γarm*, Tag. *qarm*.

$ry > j(j)$.

§ 763. The assimilation of ry to $j(j)$ is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārya* 'business,' Prāk. *kajja*, Māg. Prāk. *kayyē*, Śāur. Prāk. *kēra*, Pāli *kayya*, *kāriya*, *kayira*, Hindī, Panj. *kāj*, *kāraj*, Sindhī *kārju*, Guj. *kāj*, *kāraj*, Mar. *kāj*.

$ry > r(r)$.

§ 764. The assimilation of ry to $r(r)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tūrya* 'trumpet,' Prāk. *tūra*, Pāli *tūriya*, Uṛ. *turī*, Bang. *turum*, Hindī *tūrī*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *tūram*, Sindhī, Guj. *turī*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suja*, *sūria*, Pāli *suriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *sūr*, *suraj*, Sinh. (*h*)*iru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *cīrya* 'brave,' Phl., New Pers. *cīr*. Av. *airya* 'noble,' Oss. *ir*.

$ry > rj$.

§ 765. The change of ry to rj is not unknown to the Indian dialects (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārya* 'business,' Sindhī *kārju* (cf. also Hindī, Panj., Guj. *kāraj*, *kāj*), etc. (see § 763). Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju* (cf. also Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*), etc. (see preceding §).

ry > *l(l)*.

§ 766. The assimilation of *ry* to *l(l)* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 354).

a. Indian. Skt. *paryāṅka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallamka*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *paliāmka*, Pāli *pallamka*, New Ind. *palaṁg*, Anglo-Ind. *palanquin*. Skt. *paryāṇa* 'saddle,' Prāk. *pallāṇa*, Uṛ. *palāṇa*, Bang. *pālāṇ*, Hindī *pālān*, Panj. *palāṇ*, Sindhī *palāṇu*, Guj. *palāṇ(ō)*, Mar. *pālāṇ*.

rv > *p(p)*.

§ 767. The hardening of *rv* to *p(p)* is very rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *carvayati* 'chews,' Pāli *cappēti*, Uṛ. *cōbā*, Bang., Hindī *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhī *caḷ*, Guj., Mar. *cāv*, Sinh. *sapanavā*, *hapanavā*.

rv > *b(b)*.

§ 768. The assimilation of *rv* to *b(b)* is not very frequent (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *carvayati* 'chews,' Uṛ. *cōbā*, Bang., Hindī *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhī *caḷ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Pāli *pabbata*, Sinh. *pava*. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *savva*, Pāli *sabba*, Ass. *sab*, Uṛ. *sabu*, Bang. *sab*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sab*, *sabh*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhī *sabhu*, Gyp. *savorō*.

rv > *(b)bh*.

§ 769. The assimilation of *rv* to *(b)bh* is extremely rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Hindī, E. Hindī *sabh*, *sab*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhī *sabhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

rv > *rḥh*.

§ 770. The change of *rv* to *rḥh* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *parvan* 'festival,' Pāli *pabba*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *parab*, Sindhī *pirbhū*, Guj., Mar. *parv*.

$rv > r(r)$.

§ 771. The assimilation of rv to $r(r)$ is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *haurva* 'all,' Old Pers. *haruva*, Phl., New Pers. *har*.

$rv > v(v)$.

§ 772. The assimilation of rv to $v(v)$ is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *savva*, etc. (see § 768). Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Sinh. *pava*, etc. (see § 768).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *yārvar* 'friend' besides *yāvar*.

$rś > ṁs$.

§ 773. The change of $rś$ to $ṁs$ is very rare in Indian.

a. Indian. Skt. *dārśana* 'sight,' Prāk. *daṁsana*, Ass. *dar-sana* (pron. *darhana*), Sindhī *darsaṇu*.

$rś > s(s)$.

§ 774. The assimilation of $rś$ to $s(s)$ is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparśana* 'touch,' Prāk. *phāsa*, Pāli *phassa*, Hindī, Panj. *phamsanā*, Sindhī *phasanu*, Guj. *phasavun*, Mar. *phasanēn*.

$rśv > s(s)$.

§ 775. The assimilation of $rśv$ to $s(s)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pārśva* 'side,' Prāk. *pāsa*, Hindī *pās*, Panj. *pās*, *pāh*, Sindhī, Guj. *pāsē*, Mar. *pālas*, *pāsim*, Gyp. *paš*.

$rśv > h(h)$.

§ 776. The assimilation of $rśv$ to $h(h)$ is exceedingly rare (cf. § 401).

a. Indian. Skt. *pārśva* 'side,' Panj. *pāh*, *pās*, etc. (see preceding §).

$r\dot{s} > (d)\dot{d}h$.

§ 777. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $(d)\dot{d}h$ is very rare (cf. § 351).

a. Indian. Skt. *karṣaṇa* 'dragging,' Uṛ. *kāṛhibā*, Bang. *kārhan*, Hindī *kāṛhnā*, Panj. *karrhanā*, Sindhī *karhaṇu*, Guj. *kāhāravuṇ*, Mar. *kārhaṇēm*.

$r\dot{s} > r(r)$.

§ 778. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $r(r)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mārgaśīrṣa* 'November-December,' Apab. Prāk. *maggasīru*, Uṛ. *māg(h)uśīra*, *magusara*, Panj. *maghar*, Sindhī *maṃghīru*.

$r\dot{s} > rz$.

§ 779. The change of $r\dot{s}$ to rz is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *barəša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Afγ. *vraž*, Bal. *bušk*, Dig. Oss. *barza*, Tag. *barz*.

$r\dot{s} > \acute{s}(\acute{s})$.

§ 780. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $\acute{s}(\acute{s})$ is very rare (cf. § 407).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sis*, Sindhī *sisī*, Guj. *śīś*, Mar. *śī(ṇ)s*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*.

$r\dot{s}, r\acute{s} > \acute{s}(\acute{s}), \acute{s}(\acute{s})$.

§ 781. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}, r\acute{s}$ to $\acute{s}(\acute{s}), \acute{s}(\acute{s})$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varṣa* 'year,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *vaṣa*, *varṣa*, lit. Prāk. *vāsa*, Pāli *vassa*, Gyp. *berš*, *breš*.

b. Iranian. Av. *barəša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Bal. *bušk*, etc. (see § 779). Av. *karšayən* 'they may drag,' Phl. *kašūtanō*, New Pers. *kašīdan*, Afγ. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašay*, Kurd. *kišān*.

$r\dot{s} > s(s)$.

§ 782. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $s(s)$ occurs frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 408).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, li *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sīsī*, Mar. *śī(n)s*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*, etc. (see § 780).

$rṣ > h(h)$.

§ 783. The assimilation of $rṣ$ to $h(h)$ is excessively rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārṣāpaṇa* 'a certain coin,' Prāk. *kāhāvaṇa*, Pāli *kahāpaṇa*, Ur. *kāhāṇa*, Bang. *kāhaṇ*, Hindī *kahān*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Sinh. *iha*, *isa*, *sis*, *his*, etc. (see § 780). Skt. *varṣati* 'rains,' Pāli *vassati*, Sinh. *vahinu*, Māladive *vehenī*.

$rśn > kh, x$.

§ 784. The assimilation of $rśn$ to kh, x , is very rare (cf. § 922).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxī *tax(ī)*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tür(ī)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*.

$rśn > n(n)$.

§ 785. The assimilation of $rśn$ to $n(n)$ is quite rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tanī*, *tī*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rśn > r(r)$.

§ 786. The assimilation of $rśn$ to $r(r)$ is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Sarq. *tür(ī)*, etc. (see § 784).

$rśn > rs$.

§ 787. The assimilation of $rśn$ to rs is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *varšni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, Tag. Oss. *urs*, S. Oss. *vurz*.

$rśn > rz$.

§ 788. The assimilation of $rśn$ to rz is most rare (cf. § 925).

b. Iranian. Av. *varšni* 'virile,' S. Oss. *vurz*, etc. (see preceding §).

$r\acute{s}n > \acute{s}(\acute{s})$.

§ 789. The assimilation of $r\acute{s}n$ to $\acute{s}(\acute{s})$ is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' New Pers. *tiš*, etc. (see § 784).

$r\acute{s}n > \acute{s}n$.

§ 790. The reduction of $r\acute{s}n$ to $\acute{s}n$ is quite common.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Yidg. *trušna*, etc. (see § 784). Av. *varšni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, etc. (see § 787).

$r\acute{s}n > \acute{z}(\acute{z})$.

§ 791. The assimilation of $r\acute{s}n$ to $\acute{z}(\acute{z})$ is extremely rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Afy. *tažai*, etc. (see § 784).

$r\acute{s}v > \acute{s}v$.

§ 792. The assimilation of $r\acute{s}v$ to $\acute{s}v$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karšvar* 'clime,' Phl., New Pers. *kišvar*.

$rs > hl$.

§ 793. The transposition of rs to hl is very rare (cf. §§ 354, 421).

b. Iranian. Av. *parəsu* 'side,' Phl. *pahlūk*, New Pers. *pahlū*.

$rz > l(l)$.

§ 794. The assimilation of rz to $l(l)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *barəziš* 'pillow,' Phl. *bālišn*, New Pers. *bāliš*, Gab. *bālišť*, Kāš. *bōlēšm*, *bōlišť*.

$rh > r(r)$.

§ 795. The assimilation of rh to $r(r)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gārī*, *gālī*.

$rh > l(l)$.

§ 796. The assimilation of rh to $l(l)$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gālī*, *gārī*.

$lk > k(k)$.

§ 797. The assimilation of lk to $k(k)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ulkā* 'meteor,' Prāk., Pāli *ukkā*, Hindī *lūkā*, Sindhī *luk*. Skt. *valkala* 'bark,' Prāk., Pāli *vakkala*, Sindhī *bakaru*.

$lg > g(g)$.

§ 798. The assimilation of lg to $g(g)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *valgā* 'rein,' New Ind. dialects *bāg*. Skt. *valgulī* 'bat,' Pāli *vaggulī*.

$lp > p(p)$.

§ 799. The assimilation of lp to $p(p)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalpa* 'time,' Pāli *kappa*. Skt. *kalpatē* 'conducts himself,' Māhār. Prāk. *kappaē*, Pāli *kappati*, Simh. *kanavā*.

$lm > mb$.

§ 800. The assimilation of lm to mb is very rare (cf. §§ 323, 360).

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmalī* 'silk-cotton tree,' Jāina Prāk. *sambila*, Pāli *simbalī*, Ur. *śīmila*, *śīmula*, Bang. *śimul*, Hindī *sēmal*, *simbal*, Panj. *simabal*, *simmāl*, Mar. *sāmvar*.

$lm > m(m)$.

§ 801. The assimilation of lm to $m(m)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmalī* 'silk-cotton tree,' Ur. *śīmila*, *śīmula*, Bang. *śimul*, Hindī *sēmal*, *simbal*, Panj. *simmāl*, *simabal*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *jālma* 'reckless,' Pāli *jamma*.

$lm > mv$.

§ 802. The change of lm to mv is extremely rare in Indian (cf. §§ 324, 360).

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmalī* 'silk-cotton tree,' Mar. *sāmvar*, etc. (see § 800).

ly > *l(l)*.

§ 803. The assimilation of *ly* to *l(l)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' Prāk., Pāli *kalla*, Ass., Uṛ., Bang. *kāli*, E. Hindī, Hindī *kāl*, *kāl̥h*, Panj. *kall*, *kallh*, Sindhī *kāl̥h*, Guj., Mar. *kāl*.

ly > (*l*)*lh*.

§ 804. The assimilation of *ly* to (*l*)*lh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' E. Hindī, Hindī *kāl̥h*, *kāl*, Panj. *kallh*, *kall*, Sindhī *kāl̥h*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Prāk. *mulla*, *molla*, Kaśm. *mol*, Uṛ. *mula*, Bang., Hindī *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhī *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*.

lv > *b(b)*.

§ 805. The assimilation of *lv* to *b(b)* is extremely rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pāli *pabbaja*.

lv > *l(l)*.

§ 806. The assimilation of *lv* to *l(l)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bilva* 'wood-apple,' Pāli *billa*, *bella*, New Ind. dialects *bēl*. Skt. *khalvāṭa* 'bald,' Prāk. *khallīḍa*, Pāli *khallāṭa*.

vy > *b(b)*.

§ 807. The assimilation of *vy* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 372). In Bangālī *vy* is regularly pronounced *b*.

a. Indian. Skt. *sīvyati* 'sews,' Pāli *sibbati*. Skt. *vyatita* 'passed,' Uṛ. *bitibā*, Hindī *bitnā*, Panj. *bitīṭanā*, Guj. *vaṭavun̄h*. Skt. *vyamśana* 'division,' Hindī *bāchnā*, Panj. *bañchuan̄ā*, Sindhī *virchan̄u*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bagh*, Sindhī *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Sinh. *vag*.

$vy > v(v)$.

§ 808. The assimilation of vy to $v(v)$ occurs very frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vyatita* 'passed,' Guj. *vaṭavun̄*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Sindhī *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Sinh. *vag*, etc. (see preceding §).

$vr > v(v)$.

§ 809. The assimilation of vr to $v(v)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *urvasī* nom. prop., Prāk. *urvasī*. Skt. *vrīhi* 'rice,' Prāk., Pāli *vīhi*, Sinh. *vī*.

$śc > c(c)$.

§ 810. The assimilation of $śc$ to $c(c)$ is not very common.

a. Indian. Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, Pāli *acchēra*, *acchariya*, Hindī, Panj. *acaraḥ*, Sindhī *acaraḥ*, *acarat*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prāk., Pāli *pacchā*, Ass. *picē*, *pācē* (pron. *pisē*, *pāsē*), Kāsm. *pat(h)*, Ur. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē* (pron. *pāsā*, *pisē*), Hindī *pāchē*, *pāchā*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Sindhī *pōē*, *puām*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Sinh. *pas(u)*.

$śc > (c)ch$.

§ 811. The assimilation of $śc$ to $(c)ch$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥ścika* 'scorpion,' Prāk.° *vin̄cua*, *vicchua*, *vin̄chua*, Pāli *vicchika*, Nāip. *bicchu*, Kāsm. *bīc*, *būch*, Ur., Bang. *bichā*, E. Hindī *biccu*, Hindī *bichuā*, Panj. *vicchū*, Sindhī *vichām*, Guj. *vichu*, *vin̄chū*, Mar. *vin̄cū*, *vin̄chām*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prāk., Pāli *pacchā*, Ur. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē*, Hindī *pāchē*, *pāchā*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, etc. (see preceding §).

$śc > s(s)$.

§ 812. The assimilation of $śc$ to $s(s)$ is very rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Ass. *pisē*, *pāsē* (written *pichē*, *pāchē*), Bang. *pāsā*, *pisē* (written *pāchā*, *pichē*), Sinh. *pas(u)*, etc. (see § 810).

Syncope of śc.

§ 813. The loss of internal *śc* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Sindhī *pōē*, *puām*, etc. (see § 810). Skt. *trayaścātvarīmśat* 'forty-three,' Prāk. *tēālisa*, Kaśm. *tēyatājih*, Bihārī *tāmtālis*, Hindī *tēālīs*, *tētālīsā*, *tāimtālīs*. Sindhī *ṭētālīh*.

śm > m(m).

§ 814. The assimilation of *śm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśru* 'beard,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṁsu*. Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihārī *mōmch*, *mūmch*, Hindī *mūchēn*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhī *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Prāk. *masāṇa*, Māg. Prāk. *maśāṇa*, Jāina Prāk. *sīyāṇa*, *susāṇa*, Pāli *susāna*, Uṛ. *maśāṇa*, Bang. *maśān*, Hindī *masān*, Panj. *masāṇ*, Sindhī *masāṇu*, Guj. *masāṇ*, Mar. *masaṇ*.

śm > s(s).

§ 815. The assimilation of *śm* to *s(s)* is comparatively rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Jāina Prāk. *sīyāṇa*, *susāṇa*, Pāli *susāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *raśmi* 'ray,' Prāk. *rassi*, Pāli *rasmī*, *raṁsi*, Ass. *raci* (pron. *raṣi*), Kaśm. *raz*, Uṛ., Bang. *raṣī*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *rassā*, *rassī*, Sindhī *raṣī*, Mar. *rassī*.

śr > ṁj.

§ 816. The change of *śr* to *ṁj* is very rare (cf. § 350 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *aṁsu*, Pāli *assu*, Kaśm. *āuṣ*, *aṣū*, Nāip. *āṁsū*, Uṛ. *ōṁjhū*, *āṁsū*, Bihārī, Hindī *āṁsū*, Panj. *aṁjhu*, Sindhī *haṁj*, Guj. *āṁju*, Mar. *aṁsū*, *āsū*.

śr > ṁjh.

§ 817. The change of *śr* to *ṁjh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ásru* 'tear,' U_r. *ōmjhū*, *āmsū*, Panj. *añjhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

śr > *ś(ś)*.

§ 818. The assimilation of *śr* to *ś(ś)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' U_r. *śuṇibā*, Bang. *śunan*, Hindī *sunnā*, Panj. *suṇanā*, Sindhī *suṇaṇu*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, U_r. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhī *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sāsū*.

śr > *s(s)*.

§ 819. The assimilation of *śr* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśru* 'beard,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṁsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihārī *mōmch*, *mūmch*, Hindī *mūchēm*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhī *much*, Guj. *māch*. Skt. *ásru* 'tear,' Prāk. *aṁsu*, Pāli *assu*, Nāip. *āmsū*, U_r. *āmsū*, *ōmjhū*, Bihārī, Hindī *āmsū*, Mar. *aṁsū*, *āsū*, etc. (see § 816). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhī *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sāsū*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' Hindī *sunnā*, Panj. *suṇanā*, Sindhī *suṇaṇu*, etc. (see preceding §).

śl > *s(s)*.

§ 820. The assimilation of *śl* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *ślēṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *simbha*, Pāli *silēsuma*, *sēmha*, Sinh. *sem(a)*.

śv > *s(s)*.

§ 821. The assimilation of *śv* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *aśva* 'horse,' Prāk. *assa*, *āsa*, Pāli *assa*, Sinh. *as*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pāli *issara*, Hindī, Panj. *īsar*, cf. also Sindhī *paramēsuru*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, U_r. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*,

Sindhī *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sāsū*. Skt. *śvāsa* 'breath,' Prāk., Pāli *sāsa*, Sindhī *sāhu*.

ṣk > k(k).

§ 822. The assimilation of *ṣk* to *k(k)* is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṣkṛta* 'evil,' Prāk. *dukkada*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *dukata*, Pāli *dukkata*, *dukkata*. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prāk. *sukka*, *sukkha*, Pāli *sukkha*, Ass. *sukāna* (pron. *hukāna*), Kaśm. *hōkh*, Uṛ., Bang. *śukā*, Hindī *sūkhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukkā*, Sindhī *sukō*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukā*, *sukhā*. Skt. *niṣkarṣaṇa* 'dragging out,' Pāli *nikkaḍḍha*, Hindī *nikālanā*, *nikāsanā*, Panj. *nik(k)āsaṇā*, *nikkālāṇā*, Sindhī *nikāraṇum*, *nikēraṇu*, *nikarāṇum*, Guj. *nikālavum*, *nikāsavum*, Mar. *nikāṭaṇēm*, *nikāl*.

ṣk > (k)kh.

§ 823. The assimilation of *ṣk* to *(k)kh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prāk. *sukkha*, *sukka*, Pāli *sukha*, Kaśm. *hōkh*, Hindī *sūkhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukkā*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukhā*, *sukā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣkara* 'pool,' Prāk., Pāli *pokkhara*, Uṛ. *pōkharī*, Bang. *pukur*, Hindī, Mar. *pōkhar*.

ṣt > t(t).

§ 824. The assimilation of *ṣt* to *t(t)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣṭa* 'polished,' Pāli *maṭṭa*, *maṭṭha*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prāk. *saṭṭhi*, Kaśm. *śāiṭh*, *śēṭh*, Uṛ. *sāṭhiē*, Bang. *sāēṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindī *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhī *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*, Sinh. *sāṭa*.

ṣt > (t)ṭh.

§ 825. The assimilation of *ṣt* to *(t)ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prāk. *laṭṭhi*, Śaur. Prāk. *jaṭṭhi*, Pāli *laṭṭhi*, Uṛ., Bang. *lāṭhī*, Hindī *lāṭhī*, *lāṭ(ī)*, Panj. *laṭṭhī*, Sindhī *lāṭhī*, Guj. *lāṭh*, *lāṭ*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *aṣṭan* 'eight,' Prāk.,

Pāli *aṭṭha*, Kāśm. *āṭh*, Uṛ. *āṭha*, Bang. *āṭa*, Bihārī, Hindī *āṭh*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhī *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *āṭh*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prāk. *saṭṭhi*, Kāśm. *śāiṭh*, *śēṭh*, Uṛ. *sāṭhiē*, Bang. *sācṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindī *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhī *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*.

ṣt > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 826. The assimilation of *ṣt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare (cf. § 192).

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' Pāli *vēṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kāśm. *vāḍ*, *vār*, Uṛ. *bhērā*, *bērḥā*, Bang. *bērā*, Hindī, Panj. *bērḥā*, Multānī *vērḥā*, Sindhī *vaḍēhō*, *vērḥā*, Mar. *vēḍhā*. Skt. *lēṣṭu* 'clod,' Māhār. Prāk. *leṭṭhuya*, Pāli *leḍḍu*.

ṣt > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 827. The assimilation of *ṣt* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is extremely rare (cf. § 193).

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' Uṛ. *bērḥā*, *bhērā*, Hindī, Panj. *bērḥā*, Multānī *vērḥā*, Sindhī *vērḥā*, *vaḍēhō*, Mar. *vēḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ruṣṭa* 'angry,' Bang., Hindī, Panj. *rūḍh*.

ṣtr > *(t)t*.

§ 828. The assimilation of *ṣtr* to *(t)t* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṭra* 'camel,' Prāk. *uṭṭa*, Kāśm. *(v)ūnṭh*, Bihārī *ū(n)t*, Sindhī *uṭhu*.

ṣtr > *(t)ṭh*.

§ 829. The assimilation of *ṣtr* to *(t)ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārāṣṭra* 'great kingdom,' Pāli *mahāraṭṭha*, Sindhī *marāṭhī*, Guj. *marēṭhō*.

ṣtr > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 830. The assimilation of *ṣtr* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *daṁṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prāk. *dāḍhā*, Pāli *dāṭhā*, Uṛ. *dāḍh(ṛ)*, Bang. *dār(ṛ)*, Hindī *dāḍh(ṛ)*, Panj. *dāhaḍ(ṛ)*, Sindhī *ḍāṭh*, *ḍaḍah*, Guj. *dāḍhī*, *ḍāhār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, Sinh. *daḷa*.

ṣtr > (ḍ)ḍh.

§ 831. The assimilation of *ṣtr* to (ḍ)ḍh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prāk. *dāḍhā*, Uṛ., Hindī *dāḍh(ṛ)*, Guj. *dāḍhī*, *dāhār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṣtr > l(l).

§ 832. The assimilation of *ṣtr* to l(l) is excessively rare (cf. § 213).

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Sinh. *dala*, etc. (see § 830).

ṣtr > h(h).

§ 833. The assimilation of *ṣtr* to h(h) is exceedingly rare (cf. § 206 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Panj. *dāhād(ṛ)*, Guj. *dāhār*, *dāḍhī*, etc. (see § 830).

ṣth > t(t).

§ 834. The assimilation of *ṣth* to t(t) is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṣṭha* 'granary,' Pāli *koṭṭha*, New Ind. dialects *koṭṭ*, *koṭṭh*.

ṣth > (t)th.

§ 835. The assimilation of *ṣth* to (t)th is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Apab. Prāk. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Pāli *piṭṭha*, Ass., Uṛ. *piṭhi*, Bang. *piṭhi*, *pīṭ*, Hindī *pūṭh*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Sindhī *puṭhi*, Guj. *puṭh*, *pīṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, Gyp. *pūṣto*. Skt. *gōṣṭhī* 'assembly,' Prāk. *goṭṭhī*, Pāli *goṭṭha*, Sindhī *gōṭhu*, Mar. *goṭṭhī*. Skt. *oṣṭha* 'lip,' Māhār. Prāk. *oṭṭha*, *uṭṭha*, Pāli *oṭṭha*, Kāsm. *vuṭh*, Uṛ. *oṭha*, Bihārī *hō(ṇ)ṭh*, Hindī *ōmṭh*, Panj. *hōmṭh*, Guj. *ōṭh*, *hōṭ*, Mar. *ōmṭh*, Gyp. *vuṣt*.

ṣth > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 836. The assimilation of *ṣth* to ḍ(ḍ) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Uṛ. *kudha*, Bang. *kuḍi*, Sindhī *kōṛhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōṛ*, *kōṛh*, *kōhōṛ*.

ṣth > (ḍ)ḍh.

§ 837. The assimilation of *ṣth* to (ḍ)ḍh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' U_r. *kuḍha*, Sindhī *kōṛhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōṛh*, *kōṛ*, *kōhōṛ*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{ṣṇ} > \hat{n}(\hat{n})$.

§ 838. The assimilation of ṣṇ to $\hat{n}(\hat{n})$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *uṇha* (but Pāli *sītunnaka* 'heat and cold' besides *sītunḥaka*), Sindhī *uṇ*, Guj. *unhum*, Mar. *ūnha*, Sinh. (*h*)*uṇu*.

$\text{ṣṇ} > n(n)$.

§ 839. The assimilation of ṣṇ to $n(n)$ occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Sinh. (*h*)*uṇu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{ṣṇ} > nḥ$.

§ 840. The change of ṣṇ to $nḥ$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle Indian dialects, but it is very rare in the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prāk. *uṇha*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Prāk., Pāli *kaṇha*, Hindī, Panj. *kānh*, *kanhāi*, Sindhī *kānu*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kanhōbā*.

$\text{ṣṇ} > n(n)$.

§ 841. The assimilation of ṣṇ to $n(n)$ occurs frequently (cf. § 218).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīta* 'cold' + *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Pāli *sītunnaka*, *sītunḥaka*, Mar. *ūnha*, etc. (cf. § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Sindhī *kānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{ṣṇ} > nḥ$.

§ 842. The change of ṣṇ to $nḥ$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Guj. *unhum*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Hindī, Panj. *kānh*, *kanhāi*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kanhōbā*, etc. (see § 840).

$\text{ṣṇ} > h(h)$.

§ 843. The assimilation of ṣṇ to $h(h)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *tṛṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prāk. *taṛṇhā*, Pāli *tiṇhā*, *taṣiṇā*, Panj. *tiḥā*, Sindhī *ṭih*, Mar. *tahān*.

$\text{ṣp} > p(p)$.

§ 844. The assimilation of ṣp to $p(p)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śāur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kaśm. *bāha*, Ur., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindī *bā(m)ph*, Hindī *bhāp*, *bā(m)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppha*, Kaśm. *pōṣ*, Bihārī *phūp*, *phūph*, Old Hindī *puhup*, Hindī *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phāl*. Skt. *niṣputra* 'sonless,' Sindhī *niputrō*.

$\text{ṣp} > (p)ph$.

§ 845. The assimilation of ṣp to $(p)ph$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bappha* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' E. Hindī *bā(m)ph*, Hindī *bā(m)ph*, *bhāp*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppha*, Bihārī *phūph*, *phūp*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{ṣp} > h(h)$.

§ 846. The assimilation of ṣp to $h(h)$ is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 300).

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Kaśm. *bāha*, etc. (see § 844).

$\text{ṣm} > (b)bh$.

§ 847. The assimilation of ṣm to $(b)bh$ is excessively rare (cf. § 323).

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā*, Old Hindī *ūbh*, Mar. *umhal*. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Prāk. *gimha*, Apab. Prāk. *gim̐bha*, Pāli *gimha*, Old Hindī *garīsam*, Mar. *gim̐bh*, *gīm*.

$\text{ṣm} > m(m)$.

§ 848. The assimilation of ṣm to $m(m)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Mar. *gīm*, *gim̐bh*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṣm > *mh*.

§ 849. The change of *ṣm* to *mh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Prāk., Pāli *gim̐ha*, etc. (see § 847). Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā*, Mar. *umhāl*, etc. (see § 847).

ṣy > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 850. The change of *ṣy* to (*k*)*kh* is very rare (cf. § 404).

a. Indian. Skt. *śiṣya* 'pupil,' Prāk. *sīsa*, Pāli *sissa*, Sindhī *sikhu*.

ṣy > *ṣṣ*.

§ 851. The assimilation of *ṣy* to *ṣṣ* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Prāk. *pūsa*, Ur. *pūṣa*, Bang. *pāuṣ*, Hindī *pūs*, Panj. *pōh*, Sindhī *pōhu*.

ṣy > *s(s)*.

§ 852. The assimilation of *ṣy* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣyati* 'dries,' Prāk. *sūsaī*, Pāli *sussati*. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Prāk. *pūsa*, Hindī *pūs*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṣy > *h(h)*.

§ 853. The change of *ṣy* to *h(h)* is very rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyāmi* 'I shall be,' Prāk. *hōhāmi*, *hōhimi*, *hossāmi*, Pāli *bhavissāmi*. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Panj. *pōh*, Sindhī *pōhu*, etc. (see § 851).

sk > *k(k)*.

§ 854. The assimilation of *sk* to *k(k)* is very frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *taskara* 'thief,' Prāk., Pāli *takkara*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk. *khand(h)a*, Pāli *khandha*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *kāṁdhā*, Panj. *kannh*, *kaṁdhā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kāṁdhō*, Mar. *khāṁdā*, Elu *kaṁda*, Maladive *koḍu*.

$sk > (k)kh$.

§ 855. The assimilation of *sk* to $(k)kh$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk. *khand(h)a*, Pāli *khandha*, Mar. *khāṁdā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$sc > c(c)$.

§ 856. The assimilation of *sc* to $c(c)$ is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *pascat* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kāš. *pac*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, Dig. Oss. *fastāga*, Tag. *fastag*.

$sc > š(š)$.

§ 857. The assimilation of *sc* to $š(š)$ is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. §§ 419, 166).

b. Iranian. Av. *pascat* 'afterward,' Kuhr. *paš*, *pas*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, etc. (see preceding §).

$sc > šk$.

§ 858. The change of *sc* to $šk$ is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *scindayeiti* 'breaks,' Phl. *škastanō*, New Pers. *šikastan*, Oss. *sadhtin*, *satthin*.

$sc > s(s)$.

§ 859. The assimilation of *sc* to $s(s)$ is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *pascat* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, etc. (see § 856). Av. *scindayeiti* 'breaks,' Oss. *sadhtin*, *satthin*, etc. (see preceding §).

st > (k)kh.

§ 860. The change of *st* to (k)kh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Prāk. *khaṁbha*, *thaṁbha*, Pāli *thambha*, Uṛ. *khaṁbh(ā)*, *khaṁ(bā)*, Bang. *khaṁbā*, Hindī, Panj. *thaṁb*, Sindhī *thaṁbhu*, Guj. *khāṁb*, *khaṁbh*, *thaṁb*, Mar. *khāṁb*, Simh. *ṭāmba*. [See now Pischel, § 306.]

st > ṭ(t).

§ 861. The assimilation of *st* to ṭ(t) is excessively rare (cf. § 224).

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Simh. *ṭāmba*, etc. (see preceding §).

st > t(t).

§ 862. The assimilation of *st* to t(t) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stāinya* 'thief,' Jaina Prāk. *tēṇiya*. Skt. *hyastana* 'yesterday's,' Pāli *hīyattana*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāt*, *hāth*, Kāśm. *ath* (but *hast* 'elephant'), Uṛ., Bang. *hāta*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Simh. *ata*, Gyp. *vast*.

b. Iranian. Lat. *sturnus* 'starling,' Old High German *stāra*, New Pers. *tar*.

st > (t)th.

§ 863. The assimilation of *st* to (t)th is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pustaka* 'book,' Prāk. *potthaa*, Pāli *pōthaka*, Kāśm. *pūth*, Uṛ. *pōthā*, Sindhī, Guj., Mar. *pōthī*, Simh. *pōta*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāth*, *hāt*, Kāśm. *ath*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prastara* 'stone,' Prāk., Pāli *patthara*, Uṛ. *pathara*, Bang. *pāthar*, Hindī, Panj. *patthar*, Sindhī *patharu*, Guj., Mar. *patthar*. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Pāli *thana*, Uṛ., Bang. *thana*, Hindī *than*, Panj. *thaṇ*, Sindhī *thaṇu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*, Simh. *tana*.

st > s(s).

§ 864. The assimilation of *st* to s(s) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *rāsta* 'right,' Phl. *rāst*, New Pers. *rās*, *rāst*, Oss. *rast*, *rasth*.

sty > *ṭh*, *th*.

§ 865. The assimilation of *sty* to *ṭh*, *th*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *styāna* 'idleness,' Prāk., Pāli *ṭhīna*, *thīna*.

sth > (k)kh.

§ 866. The change of *sth* to (k)kh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāṇu* 'firm, Śiva,' Prāk. *khāṇu*, *khaṇṇu*, 'firm,' *thāṇu* 'Śiva.' [See now Pischel, § 309.]

sth > *ṭ(t)*.

§ 867. The assimilation of *sth* to *ṭ(t)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' Prāk., Pāli *aṭṭhi*, Uṛ., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindi *hāḍ*, *haḍḍī*, Panj. *haḍḍī*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, Sinh. *āṭa*.

sth > (ṭ)th.

§ 868. The assimilation of *sth* to (ṭ)th is very rare (cf. § 238).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ṭhāṇa*, *thāṇa*, Pāli *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *than̄i*, Uṛ. *ṭhaṇā*, *thānā*, Bang. *thaṇā*, *thān*, Hindi *ṭhannā*, *thānā*, Panj. *ṭhāṇ*, *thānā*, Sindhi *ṭhāṇu*, *thāṇu*, Guj. *ṭhāṇ*, *thāṇ*, Mar. *ṭhān*, *thār*, Sinh. *ṭāna*, *tāna*, Gyp. *than*.

sth > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 869. The assimilation of *sth* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' Uṛ., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindi *hāḍ*, *haḍḍī*, Panj. *haḍḍī*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, etc. (see § 867).

sth > *t(t)*.

§ 870. The assimilation of *sth* to *t(t)* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pāli *thira*, Uṛ. *thira*, Hindi *ṭhir*, Sinh. *tara*. Skt. *sthālī* 'kettle,' Pāli *thālī*, Uṛ., Panj. *thālī*, Guj. *thālō*, Mar. *thālā*, Sinh. *tāli*, Māladive *teḷi*.

sth > (t)*th*.

§ 871. The assimilation of *sth* to (t)*th* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects and in North Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *thāṇa*, *ṭhāṇa*, Nāip. *than̄i*, Ur. *thānā*, *ṭhāṇā*, Bang. *thān*, *thaṇā*, Hindī *thānā*, *ṭhannā*, Panj. *thūnā*, *ṭhannā*, *ṭhāṇ*, Sindhī *thāṇu*, *ṭhāṇu*, Guj. *thāṇ*, *ṭhāṇ*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Gyp. *than*, etc. (see § 868). Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pāli *thira*, Ur. *thira*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *-stāna* 'standing,' Phl., New Pers. *-stān*, N. Bal. *thān*, Kurd. *šūn*.

sth > *st*.

§ 872. The deaspirization of *sth* to *st* is very rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥hastha* 'householder,' Pāli *gahatṭha*, Bihārī *girhast*, Hindī *grihast*, Panj. *g(a)risati*, Sindhī *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha* (semi-tatsama).

sth > ś(ṣ).

§ 873. The assimilation of *sth* to ś(ṣ) is extremely rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *-stāna* 'standing,' Kurd. *šūn*, etc. (see § 871).

sn > *ṇh*.

§ 874. The change of *sn* to *ṇh* is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bathing,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhāṇu*, Pāli *nahāna*, *sināna*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāūṇā*, Guj. *nahāṇ*, Mar. *nahāṇ*, *nāhaṇēm*.

sn > *n(n)*.

§ 875. The assimilation of *sn* to *n(n)* occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. It is more frequent in the latter group.

a. Indian. Skt. *snēha* 'love,' Prāk. *nēha*, *siṇēha*, Apab. Prāk. *nēhu*, Pāli *s(i)nēha*, Bihārī *nēh*, Sindhī *nīmhu*, *sanēhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *snaoḍa* 'cloud,' Bal. *nōḍ*, N. Bal. *nōḍ*. Skt. *snuṣar* 'daughter-in-law,' Afy. *nžōr*, Bal. *našār*, Oss. *n(v)ostha*. Av. *snavarə* 'bow-string,' Dig. Oss. *navr*, Tag. *nvar*.

sn > *nh*.

§ 876. The change of *sn* to *nh* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bathing,' Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāūñā*, etc. (see § 874).

sp > *p(p)*.

§ 877. The assimilation of *sp* to *p(p)* is very rare (cf. § 293).

a. Indian. Skt. *vanaspati* 'tree,' Prāk. *vaṇassaī*, *vaṇapphaī*, Pāli *vanappati*. Skt. *sparśa* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pāli *phassa*, Ass. *✓pas*, Bang. *sparśa* (pron. *pörśö*), Hindī, Panj. *paras*, Guj. *pāras*, Mar. *paras*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spərəza* 'spleen,' Phl. *spärz*, New Pers. *supurz*, Kāš. *aspül*, *aspöl*, Tāt *süpül*, Kurd. *pişik*.

sp > *(p)ph*.

§ 878. The assimilation of *sp* to *(p)ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian languages.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparśa* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pāli *phassa*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *spandana* 'throb,' Prāk. *phamdana*, Pāli *phandana*, Hindī *phāmdanā*, Panj. *phāmdanā*, Mar. *phāmdanēm*.

sp > *s(s)*.

§ 879. The assimilation of *sp* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects. In the Indian dialects, on the other hand, it is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vanaspati* 'tree,' Prāk. *vaṇassaī*, *vaṇapphaī*, etc. (see § 877). Skt. *bṛhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bihassaī*, *bhaassaī*, *bahappaī*, *bhaapphaī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *span* 'dog,' Old Pers. (Median) *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afγ. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, *aspa*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Waxī *yaš*, Minj. *yas(a)p*, Afγ. *ās*, Bal. *(h)aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag.

yafs. Skt. *aśvatara* 'mule,' Phl., New Pers. *astar*, Bal. *istal*, N. Bal. *hastal*, Kurd. *istîr*, *histîr*.

sp > *sph*, *sf*.

§ 880. The aspirization of *sp* to *sph*, *sf*, is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaospənta* 'holy kine,' Phl. *gōspand*, New Pers. *gōsfand*, *gōspand*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *safēd*, *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sübō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, Afγ. *spīn*, Kurd. (i)*spī*.

sp > *sb*.

§ 881. The softening of *sp* to *sb* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Zaf. *sübō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *span* 'dog,' Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, etc. (see § 879).

sph > (k)*kh*.

§ 882. The assimilation of *sph* to (k)*kh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphōṭaka* 'boil,' Prāk. *khōḍaa*, Pāli *phōṭa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhī *phurḍī*. [So the Prākrit grammarians, falsely. See now Pischel, § 311.]

sph > (p)*ph*.

§ 883. The assimilation of *sph* to (p)*ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphuṭa* 'thrilled,' Prāk. *phuḍa*, Pāli *phuṭa*. Skt. *sphōṭaka* 'boil,' Pāli *phōṭa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhī *phurḍī*.

sm > *mh*.

§ 884. The change of *sm* to *mh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle Indian dialects (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *asmi* 'am,' Prāk. *amhi*, Pāli *amhi*, *asmi*. Skt. *vismaya* 'wonder,' Prāk. *vimhaa*, Pāli *vimhaya*, Sindhī *visāi*.

$sm > s(s)$.

§ 885. The assimilation of sm to $s(s)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vismaya* 'wonder,' Sindhī *visāī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *smṛti* 'memory,' Hindī, Panj. *surat*, Sindhī *surti*. Skt. *smarati* 'remembers,' Prāk. *saraṣ*, *sumaraṣ*, Pāli *sarati*, *sumarati*.

$sm > sb$.

§ 886. The change of sm to sb is excessively rare (cf. § 323).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *ažmān*.

$sm > z(z)$.

§ 887. The assimilation of sm to $z(z)$ is very rare (cf. §§ 325, 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēsma* 'fuel,' Phl. (*h*)*ēzam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēzam*, Gab. *izma*, Kāš., Kuhr. (*h*)*ēzam*, Kurd. *hazang*.

$sm > zm$.

§ 888. The softening of sm to zm is rare (cf. § 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēsma* 'fuel,' Gab. *izma*, etc. (see preceding §).

$sm > žm$.

§ 889. The change of sm to $žm$ is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *asman* 'heaven,' N. Bal. *ažmān*, etc. (see § 886).

$sy > (j)jh$.

§ 890. The change of sy to $(j)jh$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāmsya*, *kaṁsa* 'bell-metal,' Prāk. *kaṁsia*, Pāli *kaṁsa*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *kāmsā*, Panj. *kāmsī*, Sindhī *kaṁjhō*, Guj. *kāmsuṁ*, Mar. *kāmsēm* (cf. also Prāk. *tujjha* 'of thee' < Old Ind. **tusya*).

$sy > s(s)$.

§ 891. The assimilation of sy to $s(s)$ is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *syāla* 'brother-in-law,' Pāli *sāla*, Bang. *śāl*, Hindī *sāl*, Panj. *sālā*, Sindhī *sālō*, Guj. *sālō*, *sālō*, Mar. *sālā*, Gyp. *salō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Waxī *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, Oss. *sau*.

sy > ś(š).

§ 892. The assimilation of *sy* to ś(š) is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Waxī *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, etc. (see preceding §).

sr > (k)kh.

§ 893. The change of *sr* to (k)kh is extremely rare (cf. § 404?).

b. Iranian. Av. *sraoni* 'thigh,' Phl. *sarūk*, *sarīn*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Waxī *šunj*, Šīyn. *šāun*, Sarq. *xāun*, Bal. *sarēn*.

sr > *ls*.

§ 894. The metathesis of *sr* to *ls* is rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ūša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. (h)istīr, *asr*.

sr > s(s).

§ 895. The assimilation of *sr* to s(s) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sahasra* 'thousand,' Prāk., Pāli *sahassa*, Kaśm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhī *sahasu*. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Prāk. *sotta*, Pāli *sōta*, Simh. *sō*, *soya*, (h)oya.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusū*, *xusrū*, Kāš. *xasrū*, Afy. *x^vāša*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassū*, *xasrū*.

sr > *sl*.

§ 896. The change of *sr* to *sl* is very rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Kāš. *asl*, etc. (see § 894).

sr > ś(š).

§ 897. The assimilation of *sr* to ś(š) is rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Afγ. *ōšā*, etc. (see § 894). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xus(r)ū*, Afγ. *x^vāšā*, etc. (see § 895).

sr > *h(h)*.

§ 898. The assimilation of *sr* to *h(h)* is rare (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Sinh. *hoyā*, *oya*, *sō*, *soya*, etc. (see § 895).

Aphaeresis of sr.

§ 899. The loss of initial *sr* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Sinh. *oya*, *hoya*, *sō*, *soya*, etc. (see § 895).

sv > Iranian *x^v*, *hv* > *k(k)*.

§ 900. The assimilation of *sv* to *k(k)*, through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^vafsata* 'sleep!' Phl. *x^vaftanō*, New Pers. *xuspīdan*, Sīv. *fatan*, Tāl. *asp*, Waxī *xōfsam*, Šīyn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xu^vfsam*, Zaza *knana*.

sv > Iranian *x^v*, *hv* > *(k)kh*, *x*.

§ 901. The assimilation of *sv* to *(k)kh*, *x*, through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *hvarō* 'sun,' Phl. *xur*, *x^var*, New Pers. *xur*, Šīyn. *xēr*, Sarq. *xar*, Yidg. *xūr*, Afγ. *nmar*, *nvar*, Dig. Oss. *xor*, Tag. *xūr*. Av. *x^varaiti* 'eats,' Phl. *x^var^hanō*, New Pers. *xur^hdan*, Gab. *xartin*, Sīv. *fōrdan*, Zaf. *buxōrt*, Kāš. *xōrdamūn*, Vōn. *xūrtan*, Kuhr. *xārdan*, Nāy. *uxūr* 'eat!' Tāl. *bahardēn*, Šīyn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *x^varam*, Minj. *xar*, Yidg. *xūrah*, Afγ. *xōral*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, Kurd. *xurin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*. Av. *sax^vārō* 'word,' Phl., New Pers. *suxun*, Sīv. *tuxun*, Kāš. *suxan*.

sv > Iranian *x^v*, *hv* > *nm*, *nv*.

§ 902. The change of *sv* to *nm*, *nv*, through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is very rare (cf. §§ 904, 329 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *hvarə* 'sun,' Afγ. *umar*, *nvar*, etc. (see preceding §).

sv > Iranian *x^v*, *hv* > (*p*)*ph*, *f*.

§ 903. The change of *sv* to (*p*)*ph*, *f*, through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is exceedingly rare (cf. §§ 904, 371 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *x^varaiti* 'eats,' Sīv. *fōrdan*, etc. (see § 901). Av. *x^vafsata* 'sleep!' Sīv. *fatan*, etc. (see § 900).

sv > Iranian *x^v*, *hv* > *v*(*v*).

§ 904. The assimilation of *sv* to *v*(*v*), through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *x^vaš*, *xūš* 'good,' Pāz. *x^vaš*, New Pers. *xuš*, *xōš*, Kāš. *xūš*, *xōš*, Šīyn. *xāiš*, Sarq. *xēx*, Bal. *vaš*, Kurd. *xōš*, Zaza *vaš*. Av. *x^varaiti* 'eats,' Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, etc. (see § 901).

sv > *s*(*s*).

§ 905. The assimilation of *sv* to *s*(*s*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *svāmin* 'lord,' Prāk. *sāmi*, Pāli *sāmī*, *suvāmī*, Uṛ., Bang. *śāvin*, Hindī, Panj. *sāvin*, Sindhī *sāmīvin*, Sinh. *hami*, *himi*. Skt. *bhasvara* 'brilliant,' Pāli *bhassara*. Skt. *svaka* 'own,' Hindī *sagā*, Panj. *saggā*, Sindhī *sāgō*, Guj. *sagum*, Mar. *sagā*. Skt. *svāṅga* 'mimicry,' Hindī, Panj. *sāṅg*, Sindhī *sāṅgu*, Guj., Mar. *sōṅg*.

sv > *h*(*h*), and *sv* > Iranian *x^v*, *hv* > *h*(*h*).

§ 906. The assimilation of *sv* to *h*(*h*) is very rare (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *svāmin* 'lord,' Sinh. *hami*, *himi*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *x^varaiti* 'eats,' Tāl. *bahardēn*, etc. (see § 901). Av. *x^vaēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *x^vaī*, *x^vēdē*, New Pers. *x^vai*, Waxī *xīl*, Sarq. *xaið*, Afγ. *x^valē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēd*, Kurd. *xū*, *xoi*, *xōh*, Oss. *xad*.

Aphaeresis of sv > Iranian x^v, hv.

§ 907. The loss of initial *sv* through Iranian *x^v, hv*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^vafsata* 'sleep!' Tāl. *asp*, etc. (see § 900).

šk > c(c).

§ 908. The assimilation of *šk* to *c(c)* is rare (cf. §§ 424, 118).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl., New Pers. *xušk*, Kāš. *ušk*, Waxī *vask*, Afγ. *vuc*, Bal. *hušay*, Oss. *xusk*, *xus*.

šk > s(s).

§ 909. The assimilation of *šk* to *s(s)* is extremely rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Oss. *xus*, *xusk*, etc. (see preceding §).

šk > sk.

§ 910. The change of *šk* to *sk* is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Waxī *vask*, Oss. *xusk*, *xus*, etc. (see § 908).

šk > š(š).

§ 911. The assimilation of *šk* to *š(š)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'cat,' Gīl. *pīcā*, Waxī *piš*, Šīyn. *paš*, Afγ. *pišō*, Bal. *pūši*, *piši*, Kurd. *pīšik*.

šk > šc.

§ 912. The change of *šk* to *šc* is very rare (cf. § 118).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'sheep-droppings,' Waxī *pōšk* Šīyn. *pašc*, Afγ. *paca*.

št > kht, xt.

§ 913. The change of *št* to *kht, xt*, is rare (cf. § 404?).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Sīv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yangl*, Šīyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afγ. *gūta*, Oss *angursth*.

št > khs, xs.

§ 914. The change of *št* to *khs, xs*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Waxī *hāθ, hāt*, Šiyn. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yayn. *uxs*, Afγ. *ata*, Oss. *asth*.

št > t(t).

§ 915. The assimilation of *št* to *t(t)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Waxī *hāt, hāθ*, Sangl. *hāt*, Afγ. *ata*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Sangl. *ingit*, Afγ. *gūta*, etc. (see § 913).

št > (t)th.

§ 916. The assimilation of *št* to *(t)th* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Waxī *hāθ, hāt*, etc. (see § 914).

št > l(l).

§ 917. The assimilation of *št* to *l(l)* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 426).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Waxī *yangl*, etc. (see § 913).

št > s(s).

§ 918. The assimilation of *št* to *s(s)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Sīv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, etc. (see § 913).

št > šk.

§ 919. The change of *št* to *šk* is very rare (cf. § 222 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Minj. *aška*, etc. (see § 914).

šty > št.

§ 920. The assimilation of *šty* to *št* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *īt*.

$\check{s}n > khn, xn$.

§ 921. The change of $\check{s}n$ to *khn*, *xn*, is very rare (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Phl. *pāšnak*, New Pers. *pāš-nah*, Waxī *pāšnah*, Sarq. *puxnā*, Afγ. *pūnda*, Bal. *pūmzig*, *pūmz*, N. Bal. *phīz*, *phīd*, Kurd. *pānī*.

$\check{s}n > d(d), nd$.

§ 922. The change of $\check{s}n$ to *d(d)*, *nd*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Afγ. *pūnda*, N. Bal. *phīd*, *phīz*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\check{s}n > n(n)$.

§ 923. The assimilation of $\check{s}n$ to *n(n)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Kurd. *pānī*, etc. (see § 921).

$\check{s}n > z(z), m̄z$.

§ 924. The assimilation of $\check{s}n$ to *z(z)*, *m̄z*, is rare (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Bal. *pūmzig*, *pūmz*, N. Bal. *phīz*, *phīd*, etc. (see § 921).

$\check{s}m > m(m)$.

§ 925. The assimilation of $\check{s}m$ to *m(m)* is very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl., New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Sīv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš., Vön. *cam*, Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, Māz. *cas*, Gīl. *ciš*, Waxī *cōšm*, Šiγn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Sangl. *šam*, Minj. *cam*, Yidg. *cum*, Bal. *cam*, N. Bal. *cham*, Kurd. *cāv*, Zaza *cim*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*.

$\check{s}m > v(v)$.

§ 926. The assimilation of $\check{s}m$ to *v(v)* is rare (cf. § 324).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Kurd. *cāv*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\acute{s}m > sm$.

§ 927. The change of $\acute{s}m$ to sm is very rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *yušmākəm* 'of you,' Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*.

$\acute{s}m > \acute{s}(\acute{s})$.

§ 928. The assimilation of $\acute{s}m$ to $\acute{s}(\acute{s})$ is very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Sīv., Zaf., Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, Gil. *ciš*, etc. (see § 925).

$\acute{s}m > \acute{z}m$.

§ 929. The softening of $\acute{s}m$ to $\acute{z}m$ occurs but seldom (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Waxī *cōžm*, etc. (see § 925).

$\acute{s}y > c(c), \acute{c}(\acute{c})$.

§ 930. The assimilation of $\acute{s}y$ to $c(c), \acute{c}(\acute{c})$, is very rare (cf. § 424).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Waxī *cauam*, Šīyn. *vižafcam*, Sarq. *važavsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuθa*, Kurd. *čian*, Oss. *čaun*.

$\acute{s}y > \acute{s}(\acute{s})$.

§ 931. The assimilation of $\acute{s}y$ to $\acute{s}(\acute{s})$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuθa*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *šaiti* 'peace,' Old Pers. *šiyāti*, Phl. *sāt(īh)*, New Pers. *šād*, Oss. *ančad*.

$\acute{s}y > \acute{z}(\acute{z})$.

932. The softening of $\acute{s}y$ to $\acute{z}(\acute{z})$ is very rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, Šīyn. *vižafcam*, Sarq. *važavsam*, etc. (see § 930).

$zg > \acute{z}g$.

§ 933. The change of zg to $\acute{z}g$ is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *mazga* 'marrow,' Phl. *mazg*, New Pers. *mayz*, Sarq. *mužg*, Afy. *māyza*, Bal. *mažg*, Oss. *mayz*.

$z\bar{d} > z(z)$.

§ 934. The assimilation of $z\bar{d}$ to $z(z)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *nazda* 'near,' Phl. *nazdīk*, New Pers. *naz-d(ih)*, Sarq. *nizd*, Afy. *nizdē*, *niždē*, Bal. *nazīk*, N. Bal. *nazī(x)*, Kurd. *nizūk*, *nēzūk*.

$zr > dr$.

§ 935. The change of zr to dr is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *zrayah* 'sea,' Old Pers. *drayah*, Phl. *drayāk*, *zrē*, New Pers. *daryā*, *zarāh*, *zirih*, Tāt *dairuh*, Bal. *zirā*.

$zv > zm$.

§ 936. The change of zv to zm is very rare (cf. § 374).

b. Iranian. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. (*h*)*uzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zulān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Waxī *zik*, Šīyn. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afy. *žiba*, Bal. *zimān*, Kurd. *azmān*, Oss. *awzag*.

$zb > žb$.

§ 937. The change of zb to $žb$ is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Afy. *žiba*, etc. (see preceding §).

$žd > z(z)$.

§ 938. The assimilation of $žd$ to $z(z)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *duždah* 'wretched,' Phl., Pāz. *dužd* 'thief,' New Pers. *duzd*, Gab. *duz*, Tāl. *diz*, Bal. *duz*.

$žd > zd$.

§ 939. The change of $žd$ to zd is quite common in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *duždah* 'wretched,' New Pers. *duzd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *mīžda* 'reward,' Phl. *muzd*, Pāz. *mozd*, New Pers. *muzd*, *mužd*, Kurd., Oss. *mizd*.

$hn > \eta h$.

§ 940. The metathesis of hn to ηh is very rare (cf. § 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Prāk. *vaṇhi*, Sindhī *ḃāhi*.

$hn > n(n)$.

§ 941. The assimilation of hn to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *ciṇha*, *cindha*, Nāip. *cīṃnu*, Ur., Bang. *cinha*, Bihārī *cīn*, *cinaha*, Hindī *cihna*, Panj. *cihan*, Sindhī *cihanu*, Guj., Mar. *ciṃha*.

$hn > ndh$.

§ 942. The change of hn to ndh is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *cindha*, *ciṇha*, etc. (see preceding §).

$hn > h(h)$.

§ 943. The assimilation of hn to $h(h)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Sindhī *ḃāhi*, etc. (see § 940).

$hm > m(m)$.

§ 944. The assimilation of hm to $m(m)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. *bamhaṇa*, (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *bamana*, Jaina Prāk. *māhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bāmhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhī *ḃāmḃhaṇu*, Sinh. *baṃba*.

$hm > mb$.

§ 945. The change of hm to mb is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Sinh. *baṃba*, etc. (see preceding §).

$hm > mbh$.

§ 946. The change of *hm* to *mbh* is rare (cf. § 449).

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Sindhī *ḥāmbhaṇu*, etc. (see § 944).

$hy > j(j)$.

§ 947. The assimilation of *hy* to *j(j)* is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prāk. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhī *gūjhō*, Guj. *guj*, Mar. *gūj*.

$hy > (j)jh$.

§ 948. The assimilation of *hy* to *(j)jh* is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nahyati* 'binds,' Prāk. *najjhaṭ*. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prāk. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhī *gūjhō*, etc. (see preceding §).

$hv > (b)bh$.

§ 949. The assimilation of *hv* to *(b)bh* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jibbhā*, *jihā*, Pāli *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *zēo*, other New Ind. dialects *jibh*, excepting Sindhī *jibh*, Simh. *diva*, Māladive *dū*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *gahvara* 'cavern,' Pāli *gabbhara*. Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prāk. *vebbhala*, *vihala*, Hindī *bihabal*, Panj. *bihul*.

$hv > v(v)$.

§ 950. The assimilation of *hv* to *v(v)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Simh. *diva*, etc. (see preceding §).

$hv > h(h)$.

§ 951. The assimilation of *hv* to *h(h)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jihā*, *jibbhā*, etc. (see § 949). Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prāk. *vihala*, *vebbhala*, Hindī *bihabal*, Panj. *bihul*.

Syncope of hv.

§ 952. The loss of internal *hv* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Kaśm. *zēo*, Māladive *dū*, etc. (see § 949).

Anusvāra and Anunāsika.

§ 953. In the Middle Indian dialects the anusvāra, a purely nasal sound, has been almost entirely lost, and has vanished altogether in the New Indian dialects. On the other hand the anunāsika, or nasalization of a vowel sound, became more and more frequent during the Middle and New Indian periods, until it now completely supersedes the anusvāra. Anunāsika may stand before *h* or *s*, and is interchangeable with the class-nasal in all vargas in the New Indian dialects. Final anusvāra becomes anunāsika in the transition from Middle to New Indian, and such an anunāsika is retained unchanged after long vowels in Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, although they elide it after a short vowel. In the other New Indian dialects final anunāsika is lost under all circumstances. Avestan *a* possesses a certain resemblance to Indian anunāsika.

a. Indian. Skt. *siṃha* 'lion,' Prāk., Pāli *sīha*, Hindī, Panj. *siṃgh*, Sindhī *siṃghō*, *śiṃhu*, other New Ind. dialects *siṃh* (pron. *siṃgh*). Skt., Prāk. *haṃsa* 'goose,' E. Hindī *hāns*, *hans*. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'fetter,' Pāli *saṃkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikrī*, Ur. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindī *śimkar*, *sīkar*, *sik(k)ar*, Hindī *sīkar*, *sikhar*, *sikal*, Panj. *saṃghar*, Sindhī *saṃgharō*, Guj. *saṃghal*, Mar. *sāṃkhal*, *sākhāl*, *sikrī*. Skt. *kuṇḍikā* 'key,' Kaśm. *kuṇz*, Ur. *kuṇcī*, *kuṇjhī*, *kuji*, Bang. *kūṃjī*, *kūjī*, Hindī, Panj. *kūṃjī*, Sindhī *kūṃjī*, Guj. *kuṇcī*, Mar. *kūṃjī*. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sānr*, Bang. *ṣānr*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sānr*, Panj. *sāṇḍh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Mult. *sānh*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sāṇḍ*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk., Pāli *khandha*, Ass. *kāṃd(h)*, Ur., Bang. *kāṃdh*, Bihārī *kāṃdhā*, *khāṃdā*, Hindī *kāṃdhā*, Panj. *kandhā*, *kannh*, Sindhī *kandhu*, Guj. *khāṃdō*, Mar. *khāṃdā*, Simh. *kanda*. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk.

kāmpai, *kampaī*, Pāli *kampati*, Ass. *kaṃp*, Kāśm. *kaṃ(p)*, Hindī *kāṃp*, Panj. *kamb*, Sindhī *kaṃb*, Guj., Mar. *kāṃp*. Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Prāk. *dāṇīm*, *dāṇi*. Skt. *dadhi* 'curds,' Prāk. *dahīm*, E. Hindī, Hindī *dahī*, Panj. *dahīm*, Sindhī *ḍahīm*, Guj., Mar. *dahīm*.

Visarga.

§ 954. The Old Indian visarga is entirely lost in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the few instances in which *ḥ* appears in script in New Indian it is employed under learned influence, and is not pronounced.

a. Indian. Skt. *duḥkha* 'misery,' Hindī *duḥkh* (pron. *dukh*), *dukh*. Skt. *antaḥkaraṇa* 'heart,' Hindī *antaḥkaraṇ* (pron. *ant(a)karan*). Skt. *niḥśvāsa* 'sigh,' Hindī *niḥsvās* (pron. *nivās*), *nivās*.

Metathesis.

§ 955. Metathesis occurs very frequently in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, especially when one of the consonants involved is a liquid or a sibilant. Although transposition of individual consonants is the more usual case, instances of the metathesis of entire syllables are not lacking.

a. Indian. Skt. *hrada* 'sea,' Jaina Prāk. *draha*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *ḍaha*. Skt. *ālāna* 'elephant's tie-post,' Prāk. *āṇāla*. Skt. *laghuka* 'light,' Prāk. *halua*, *lahua*, Pāli *lahuka*, Ur., Bang. *halkā*, E. Hindī *haluk*, Hindī *halakā*, Sindhī *halkō*, Guj. *halakun*, Mar. *halakā*. Skt. *sakaṭa* 'stupid,' Pāli *kaṣaṭa*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gadrabha*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Ur. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, Bihārī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddō*, Sindhī *garahu*, Guj. *gadhēḍō*, Mar. *gaḍhav*. Skt. *kṣēpaṇa* 'toss,' Prāk. *khēpa*, Ur. *phimḡibā*, *pa-kāibā*, Hindī, Panj. *phēmknā*, Sindhī *phakaṇu*, Guj. *phēmknā*, Mar. *phēmknēm*. Skt. *vruḍati* 'sinks,' Prāk. *buddai*, Ur., Bang. *buḍ*, Hindī *būḍ*, Sindhī *būḍ*, Guj., Mar. *buḍ* beside Ur., Bang. *ḍubnā*, Panj. *ḍubbaṇā*, Sindhī *ḍubanu*, Guj., Mar. *ḍubaṇu*.

Skt. *paridhīyatē* 'is clothed,' Apab. Prāk. *parihaī*, Kāsm. *prāv*, Ur. *pahar*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *pahīr*, Guj. *pēr*, cf. also Mar. *pēraṇ*, *pehraṇ* 'shirt.' Skt. *biḍāla* 'cat,' Apab. Prāk. *viḍlu*, Nāip. *birālu*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bilār*, Guj. *bilāḍī*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *samudda*, *samudra*, Pāli *samudda*, Siṃh. **hamuda* > **mahuda* > *muhuda*. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ṇēura*, *niura*, Pāli *nūpura*, Ur. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhī *nūrō*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*, Siṃh. *nuruva*. Skt. *śayana* 'bed,' Prāk. *sayana*, Pāli *sayana*, *sēna*, Siṃh. *yahana*.

An instance of vowel-metathesis seems to be found in Skt. *pucimanda* 'nimba-tree,' Pāli *pucimanda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra-*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šīr. *sīrah*, Sīv. *sīr*, Yazdī *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Waxī *sōkr*, Šīy. *sīrah*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sīrx*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gīl., Sarq. *varf*, Minj. *varfah*, Yidg. *varfuh*, Yayn. *vafir*, Afy. *vāvra*, Kurd. *bafr*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxī *tax(ī)*, Šīyn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*. Old Pers. *bāxtri* nom. prop., Phl. *baxr*, *baxl*, New Pers. *balx*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. *asr*, (*h*)*istir*. Av. *karana* 'boundary,' Phl. *kanār*, New Pers. *karān*, *kanār*, Oss. *kharon*. Av. *mazga* 'marrow,' Phl. *mazg*, New Pers. *mayz*, Sarq. *mužg*, Afy. *māyza*, Bal. *mažg*, Oss. *mayz*. Av. *vīstasti* 'span,' Phl. *vitast*, New Pers. *bidast*, *gidast*, Afy. *vlišť*, *vlešť*, *lvišť*. Skt. *likṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afy. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liska*, Tag. *lisk*. Av. *fšū* 'cattle,' Afy. *špa*, *špūn*. Av. *srva* 'horn,' Phl. *srūb*, *sruv*, New Pers. *sarū(n)*, *surū*, Bal. *srumbē*, *surum*, Kurd. *savr* 'stag.' Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ'a*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Waxī *pōtr*, Šīyn. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Minj. *pūr*, Yayn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusay*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*. Av. *awra* 'cloud,' Oss. *arw*.

Assimilation of syllables.

§ 956. The assimilation of syllables is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāirañjana* nom. prop., Pāli *nērañjara*. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Kaśm. *namāmamath*, Bang. *nivā-navvaī*, Bihārī, Hindī *ninānavē*, *niyānavē*, Panj. *naḍīnāvē*, Sindhī *nadhānavē*, *vadhānavē*, *navānavē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācdahum*, New Pers. *nuvāzdah*, Afy. *nūnas*, *nūlas*, Dig. Oss. *naudas*, Tag. *nudas*. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl., New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nūk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Phl. *āīnīnak* (read *ādvīnak*?) 'mirror,' New Pers. *āyīnah*, Bal. *ādēn(k)*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

Dissimilation of syllables.

§ 957. Dissimilation of syllables is found occasionally, although the phenomenon is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kakkōla* 'bdellium,' Pāli *takkōla*, Sinh. *takul*. Skt. *jalūkikā* 'leech,' Pāli *jalūpika*, *jalūka*. Skt. *dadrūghna* 'remedy for leprosy,' Pāli *gaddūhana*. Skt. *pipīlika* 'ant,' Pāli *kipillika*, *pipīlika*.

Loss of syllables.

§ 958. The loss of entire syllables is found quite frequently both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *astamayana* 'sunset,' Prāk. *atthamaṇa*. Skt. *avaṭa* 'ditch,' Prāk. *aḍa*, Sinh. *vaḷa*. Skt. *durgādēvī* 'wife of Śiva,' Prāk. *duggāvī*. Skt. *dēvakula* 'temple,' Prāk. *dēula*, *dēvaūla*, *dēvakula*, Uṛ. *dēula*, Bang., Hindī *dēval*, Panj. *dēvālā*, Sindhī *dēvīlī*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēul*. Skt. *dvādaśa* 'twelve,' Prāk. *vāraha*, Pāli *dvādasa*, *bārasa*, Kaśm. *bāh*, Uṛ. *bāra*, Bang. *vārō*, Bihārī, Hindī *bārah*, W. Hindī *bārā*, Panj. *bārām*, Sindhī *ḅāraham*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*. Skt. *śīthila* 'slack,' Prāk. *siḍhila*, *saḍhila*, Māg. Prāk. *ḍhilla*, Pāli *sithila*, *saṭhila*, Ass.

ḍhil, Nāip. *ḍhīlō*, Ur. *ḍhīlā*, Bang. *ḍhīl*, Bihārī *ḍhīla*, E. Hindī *ḍhal*, Hindī *ḍhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhillā*, Sindhī *ḍhilō*, *ḍhirō*, *ḍharō*, Guj. *ḍhīlūn*, Mar. *ḍhilā*, *ḍhīl*, *saḍhal*. Skt. *vimśati* 'twenty,' Prāk. *vīsaī*, Pāli *vīsati*, *vīsa*, Kaśm. *vuh*, Bang. *viś*, Bihārī, Hindī *bīs*, Panj., Sindhī *vīh*, Guj., Mar. *vīs*. Skt. *anurūpa* 'parable,' Prāk. *anurūva*, Pāli *anurūpa*, Sinh. *nuru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paitidāna* 'mouth-veil,' Pahl. *padām*, New Pers. *panōm*, *panām*. Av. *θrisata* 'thirty,' Phl. *sih*, Pāz., New Pers. *sī*, Afy. *dērš*. Av. *antarō* 'within,' Old Pers. *qtar*, Phl. *andar*, New Pers. *dar*, *andar*. Old Pers. **duvitīyam kārām* 'for the second time,' Phl. *daṭīgar*, Pāz. *dadīgar*, New Pers. *dīgar*, *dadīgar*, N. Bal. *thī(h)*, Kurd. *dītar*, *dītra*. Av. *hizu* 'tongue,' Old Pers. *(h)izāva*, Phl. *(h)uzvān*, *zuvān*, *zavān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Waxī *zik*, Šīyn. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afy. *žiba*, Kurd. *azmān*, Tag. Oss. *awzag*. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Sīv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yangl*, Šīyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingart*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*.

Contraction.

§ 959. Contraction of vowels frequently results from the syncope of an intervocalic consonant in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In the latter group there was no objection to hiatus, although *y* or, more rarely, *v* was occasionally inserted to prevent the contact of two vowels (see §§ 122, 123, 137, 138, 143, 144, 164, 183, 184, 229, 232, 242, 256, 260, 270, 272, 292, 307, and consult §§ 341-348, 379-394). Hiatus in the New Indian dialects is not as frequent as in Middle Indian. The Middle and New Iranian dialects afford comparatively few examples of vowel-contraction.

The principal contractions in the New Indian dialects are as follows :

$\check{a} + \check{a} > \bar{a}$; $a + \check{i} > \bar{a}i$; $a + \check{u} > \bar{a}u$; $\check{i} + \check{i} > \bar{i}$; $i + a > \bar{e}$; $\check{u} + \check{u} > \bar{u}$;

$u + a > \bar{o}$, but $\bar{a} + \check{i}$, $\bar{a} + \check{u}$, $\bar{u} + a$, $\check{u} + \check{i}$, and \bar{e} or \bar{o} + long vowel ordinarily remain in hiatus.

a. Indian. Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pāli *cammakāra*, Uṛ. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindī, Panj. *camār*, Sindhī *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cām̐hār*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahiṇī*, *bhaiṇī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Uṛ. *bhāuṇī*, *bhaiṇī*, Bang. *baīn*, Hindī *bahin*, Panj. *bhāiṇ*, *bāim̐h*, Sindhī *bheṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bah̐n*, *bhāiṇ*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *caūt̐tha*, *caūt̐ṭha*, *cot̐tha*, Uṛ. *cāuḍha*, Bang. *cāuḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāum̐thā*. Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viāna*, Hindī *bēnā*. Skt. *rājakula* 'palace,' Prāk. *rāūla*, *rāaula*, *lāūla*, Pāli *rājakula*, Bihārī *rāūr*, Hindī *rāūl*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prāk. *ṇhāvia*, *nāvia*, Śāk. Prāk. *nābida*, Bihārī, Mar. *nāū*, other New Indian dialects *nāī*. Skt. *nikāṭa* 'near,' Māg. Prāk. *niāda*, Pāli *nikāṭa*, Bihārī *niyar*, *nēr*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'twofold,' Prāk. *duūṇa*, Pāli *diguṇa*, Hindī, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhī *ḍūṇā*, Mar. *dūṇ*. Skt. *sugandha* 'fragrant,' Prāk. *suam̐dha*, Pāli *sugandha*, Hindī, Panj. *sāum̐dhā*. Skt., Pāli *rōdana* 'lament,' Bang. *rōitē*, Hindī *rōnā*, Panj. *rōṇā*, Sindhī *ruānu*, Guj. *rōvum̐*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk., Pāli *kōila*, Uṛ. *kōyila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkīl*, Anglo-Ind. *kōil*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēm̐hu*, Nāip. *gahūm̐*, Uṛ. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm̐*, Hindī *gō(m̐)hum̐*, *gēm̐hum̐*, *ghēm̐m̐*, Panj. *ghēm̐m̐*, Sindhī *gēhum̐*, Guj. *ghaūm̐*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dāšn*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēv*, *nēvak(īh)*, New Pers. *nēk*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Sīv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīv*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *viḍu*, *viḍava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvah*, Kāš. *vīgā*, *vīē*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *iday*. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōyan*, *rōkan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roy*, Minj. *royan*, Kurd. *rōn*. Av. **dātabara* 'judge' (cf. the Aramaean loan-word דַּתְבָּרָא, Dan. iii. 2), Phl. *dātvar*, *dātbar*, *dāvar*, New Pers. *dāvar*.

Epenthesis of vowels.

§ 960. The insertion of vowels in a consonant-group to obviate a succession of consonants is extremely frequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The phenomenon occurs somewhat more often in the latter system of dialects on account of their tendency toward assimilation rather than retention of consonant-groups (see § 460). In the Middle and New Indian dialects the vowel most commonly inserted to break up a consonant-group is *a*. Epenthetic *i*, which is comparatively rare, is found chiefly in Panjabī and Sindhī, while epenthetic *u* seems to be hardly found except in the eastern dialects (cf. §§ 3, 4). The three vowels *a*, *i*, and *u* are all used in the Middle and New Iranian dialects. Of these *a* is generally preferred, but if the consonant-group contains a sibilant, *i* is regularly inserted, while *u* is employed when the group includes a labial sound. The usage is, however, very capricious, and it seems scarcely possible to lay down exact rules.

The epenthesis of long vowels occurs with extreme rarity in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaḍga* 'sword,' Prāk., Pāli *khagga*, Ur. *khaṇḍā*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindī *kharag*, *khāg*, *khāṇḍ*, *ṣagg*, Sindhī *khanō*, Guj. *khāruṇ*, Mar. *khāmā*, *khaḍga*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pāli *daddu*, Hindī *dād*, Sindhī *ḍāḍh(r)u*, Guj. *dādar*, Mar. *dadāḍ*, *dād*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suṛja*, *sūriā*, Pāli *sūriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūriju*, *sūrju*, Guj. *sūraj*, *sūr*, Simh. (*h*)*iru*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhāṇu*, Pāis. Prāk. *sanāna*, Pāli *nahāna*, *sināna*, Bihārī *nahān*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāṇā*, Guj., Mar. *nahāṇ*. Skt. *ślēṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *siṁbha*, Pāli *silsuma*, *sēmha*, Simh. *sem(a)*. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prāk. *aggi*, Pāli (*ag*)*gini*, *aggi*, Ur. *ṇia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindī *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhī *āḡi*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Simh. *gini*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *ślāghā* 'praise,' Prāk. *salahā*, Pāli *silāghā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *sarāhnā*. Skt. *ratna* 'jewel,' Prāk. *rayana*, Śāur. Prāk. *radana*, Pāli, Gāthā *ratana*, Hindī *ratan*, Sindhī *ratanu*, *ratnu*, Simh. *ruvan*. Skt. *mlāyati* 'withers,' Prāk. *milāi*, Pāli *milāyati*,

Hindī *milnā*, Sindhī *mīlaṇu*. Skt. *klēśa* 'trouble,' Hindī *kalēs*, *klēs*, Panj. *kalēs*, Sindhī *kilēsu*, Mar. *kilēs*, *kilōs*. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' Prāk., Pāli *itthī*, *thī*, Gāthā *istrī*, Uṛ. *tirī*, vulgar Uṛ. *tīla*, colloquial Hindī *istrī*, *astrī*, Panj. *tirayā*, Sindhī *tiriyā*, *istrī*, Eḷu *itiri*, Simh. *istrī*. Skt. *smaraṇa* 'recollection,' Apab. Prāk. *sumaraṇu*, Bihārī *sumiran*, *sumaran*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōy*, Kurd. *rūn*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl., New Pers. *rōšan*, Šīyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afy. *rūn*, Bal. *rōšanī*, Kurd. *rōn*, *rūn*, *ruhnai*, *rūnā(h)i*. Av. *spāda* 'army,' Phl. *spāh*, New Pers. *sipāh*, Dig. Oss. *afsād*, Tag. *afsād*, cf. Anglo-Ind. *sepoy*. GAv. *xšmāka* 'yours,' YAv. *yušmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *taoxman* 'seed,' Old Pers. *taumā*, Phl. *toxm*, New Pers. *tuxm*, Gab. *tūm*, Nāy. *tum*, Wāxī *taym*, Šīyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *tōym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, Afy. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarīn*, *sarūk*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Wāxī *šunj*, Šīyn. *šaun*, Sarq. *xāun*, Bal. *sarēn*. Av. *xraosōit* 'should scream,' Phl. *xrōs* 'cock,' New Pers. *xurōs*, Gab. *urus*, Bal. *kurus*, *krōs*, Kurd. *korōs*. Av. *θrayō* 'three,' Pāz. *sē*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Wāxī *trui*, Šīyn. *arrai*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yaṇ. *θarai*, Afy. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*. Av. *brvat* 'brow,' Phl. *brū*, New Pers. *abrū*, Gab. *burā*, Wāxī *varao*, Šīyn. *vruy*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vurij*, Afy. *vrūja*, Bal. *burvān*, *birvān*, Kurd. *burū*, *burī*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *draoγa* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōy*, New Pers. *darōy*, *durōy*, Māz. *darū*, *durū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōy*, Bal. *darōg*, *drōg*, N. Bal. *drōy*. Av. *mərəθyu* 'death,' Oss. *malath*. Av. *maṭ-paitifrasa* 'with response,' Phl. *pātfrās*, Pāz. *pādafrāh*, New Pers. *pādāfarah*, *pādafarah*.

Final Syllables.

§ 961. During the transition from the Old Indo-Iranian dialects to the New, original final syllables have been almost completely lost. Final single consonants of the Old Indo-Iranian dialects have thus disappeared for the most part, and the same fate has met the old short final vowels, while long final vowels have either been shortened or else lost altogether. Complete discussion of these problems, however, belongs rather to inflection than to phonology, but numerous examples of reduction and loss in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects of final syllables existing in the Old Indo-Iranian languages may be gathered from almost every page of this work.

Sandhi.

§ 962. The elaborate system of sandhi found in Sanskrit, and the less artificial conditions observable both in Avestan and Old Persian, ceased to exist in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, although certain traces are still found in Middle Indian (Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, §§ 156–175, 353, Childers, *JRAS.*, N.S. xi. (1879), 99–121, Müller, *Pāli-Gramm.*, 59–64, Frankfurter, *Handb. of Pāli*, 21–25) and possibly in the Pāmīr dialects of the New Iranian (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b, 307–308). In the New Indian dialects, however, as in the Middle and New Iranian dialects (excepting the Pāmīr group) sandhi is concerned entirely with word-composition. It does not, therefore, strictly form part of a discussion of the comparative phonology of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

I. SUBJECT-INDEX

(Numbers refer to §§.)

Anaptyxis of *ā* 23, *u* 55.

Anunāsika 953.

Anusvāra 953.

Aphaeresis of *a* 11, *ā* 21, *i* 31,
u 51, *ē* 93, *k* 127, *s* 422, *h* 455,
kṣ 491, *sr* 899, *sv* 907.

Apocope of *a* 13, *ā* 22, *i* 33, *ī* 42,
u 53, *ē* 94, *k* 129, *y* 338, *ś* 402,
ṣ 431, *h* 457, *gn* 500.

Assimilation of syllables 956.

Consonants, single 113-459.

Consonants, single : *k* 114-130,
kh, *x* 131-139, *g* 140-147, *gh*, *γ*
148-153, *ṇ* 154, *c* 155-171, *ch*
172-177, *j* 178-187, *jh* 188-190,
ñ 154, *ṭ* 191-198, *ṭh* 199-207,
ḍ 208-213, *ḍh* 214-217, *n* 218-
219, *t* 220-236, *th*, *θ* 237-245,
d 246-263, *dh*, *δ* 264-274, *n* 275-
286, *p* 287-294, *ph*, *f* 295-302,
b 303-310, *bh*, *w* 311-318, *m*
319-329, *y* 330-348, *r* 349-357,
l 358-363, *v* 364-394, *ś* 395-402,
ṣ 403-409, *s* 410-422, *ṣ* 423-431,
z 432-438, *ṣ* 439-443, *h* 444-
459.

Consonant-groups 460-952.

Consonant-groups, single, begin-
ning with *k* 461-494, *g* 495-503,
gh, *γ* 504-505, *ṇ* 506-511, *c* 512-
514, *j* 515-527, *ñ* 528-537, *ḍ* 538-
540, *n* 541-558, *t* 559-597, *th*, *θ*
598-599, *d* 600-618, *dh*, *δ* 619-

631, *n* 632-664, *p* 665-689, *ph*, *f*
690, *b* 691-696, *bh*, *w* 697-700,
m 701-712, *r* 713-796, *l* 797-806,
v 807-809, *ś* 810-821, *ṣ* 822-853,
s 854-907, *ṣ* 908-932, *z* 933-937,
ṣ 938-939, *h* 940-952.

Contraction 959.

Dissimilation of syllables 957.

Epenthesis of vowels 960, *k* 130,
t 236, *d* 263, *n* 286, *f* 302, *b* 310,
m 329, *ṇ* 329, *r* 357, *v* 378, *h*
459.

Final syllables 961.

Loss of syllables 958.

Metathesis 955.

Prothesis of *a* 14, *i* 34, *u* 54,
kh 139, *n* 285, *y* 340, *v* 377, *h*
458.

Sandhi 962.

Syncope of *a* 12, *i* 32, *u* 52, *k* 128,
g 147, *gh* 153, *c* 171, *j* 187, *t* 235,
d 262, *dh* 274, *n* 284, *p* 294, *ph*
301, *b* 309, *m* 328, *y* 339, *r* 356,
l 363, *v* 376, *ś* 402, *s* 422, *z* 438,
h 456, *gn* 500, *tr* 580, *tv* 590,
śc 813, *hn* 952.

Visarga 954.

Vowels 1-112.

Vowels, single : *a* 2-14, *ā* 15-23,
i 24-34, *ī* 35-42, *u* 43-55, *ū* 56-
65, *ṛ* 66-82, *ṝ* 83, *ḷ* 84, *ē* 85-
94, *āi* 95-98, *ō* 99-107, *āu* 108-
112.

II. REVERSE-INDEX

(Numbers refer to §§.)

$a = a$ 2, < \bar{a} 16, i 25, \bar{i} 36, u 44,
 \bar{u} 57, r 68, \bar{e} 86, \bar{o} 101.

$ar < r$ 67.

$al < r$ 80.

$\bar{a} < a$ 5, = \bar{a} 15, < i 26, \bar{i} 39,
 u 46, \bar{u} 60, r 76, \bar{e} 88, aya 341,
 $\bar{a}ya$ 346, $\bar{a}v\bar{a}$ 379, $\bar{a}vi$ 388, uva
393.

$i < a$ 3, \bar{a} 17, = i 24, < \bar{i} 37,
 u 45, \bar{u} 58, r 71, \bar{e} 87, \bar{o} 102,
 t 221, d 247, iya 345, h 451.

$ir < r$ 70.

$\bar{i} < a$ 6, \bar{a} 17, i 28, = \bar{i} 35, < u 47,
 \bar{u} 61, r 77, \bar{e} 89, $\bar{a}i$ 97, \bar{o} 104, iya
345, $\bar{i}va$ 391, $\bar{e}v\bar{a}$ 392.

$u < a$ 4, \bar{a} 18, i 27, \bar{i} 38, = u 43,
< \bar{u} 59, r 74, \bar{o} 103, $\bar{a}u$ 110, v 365,
 ava 380.

$ur < r$ 73.

$\bar{u} < a$ 7, \bar{a} 18, i 29, u 48, = \bar{u} 56,
< \bar{o} 105, $\bar{a}u$ 111, v 365, ava 380,
 uva 394.

$r = r$ 66.

$\bar{e} < a$ 8, \bar{a} 19, i 30, \bar{i} 40, u 49, \bar{u} 62,
 r 78, \bar{e} 85, $\bar{a}i$ 98, \bar{o} 106, aya 342,
 $ay\bar{o}$ 344, $\bar{a}ya$ 347, ava 381, $\bar{a}vi$
384, $\bar{a}vay$ 387.

$\bar{a}i < \bar{e}$ 91, $\bar{a}i$ 96, $\bar{a}ya$ 348, $\bar{a}vay$
387.

$\bar{a}i = \bar{a}i$ 95, < $ay\bar{o}$ 344, $\bar{a}vi$ 385.

$\bar{o} < a$ 9, \bar{a} 20, \bar{i} 41, u 50, \bar{u} 63,
 r 79, \bar{e} 90, \bar{o} 99, $\bar{a}u$ 112, $ay\bar{u}$ 343,
 ava 382, $\bar{a}va$ 386, $\bar{i}v\bar{a}$ 389, $\bar{i}v\bar{e}$
390, uva 394.

$au < a$ 10, \bar{o} 100, $\bar{a}u$ 109, ava 383.

$\bar{a}u = \bar{a}u$ 108.

$k = k$ 114, < kh 132, g 141, gh 149,
 p 288, v 366, h 445.

$k(\bar{k}) < kt$ 461, ky 474, kr 475, kv
479, $k\bar{s}$ 480, $\bar{n}kh$ 508, rk 713, lk
797, $\bar{s}k$ 822, sk 854, sv 900.

$k\bar{i} < k$ 117.

$kh < k$ 115, = kh 131, < gh 150,
 s 404.

$(k)kh < k\bar{s}$ 481, $\bar{n}kh$ 508, rk 714,
 $r\bar{s}n$ 784, $\bar{s}k$ 823, $\bar{s}y$ 850, sk 855,
 st 860, $\bar{s}th$ 866, $\bar{s}ph$ 882, sr 893,
 sv 901.

$x < k$ 115, d 248, bh 312, h 446.

$x(x) < sv$ 901.

$xt < \bar{s}k$ 913.

$xn < \bar{s}n$ 921.

$xs < k\bar{s}$ 482, $\bar{s}k$ 914.

$g < k$ 116, = g 140, < gh 151, t 222,
 d 249, v 367.

$g(g) < k\bar{s}$ 483, gn 498, gy 502, gr
503, $\bar{n}g$ 510, $\bar{j}n$ 515, $\bar{d}g$ 538, $\bar{d}g$
600, $\bar{d}gh$ 601, rg 717, $rg\bar{h}$ 719,
 lg 798.

$gy < \bar{j}n$ 516.

$gv < v$ 369.

$gh < kh$ 133, g 142, = gh 148.

$(g)gh < ghr$ 504, $\bar{d}gh$ 602, rgr 718,
 $rg\bar{h}$ 720.

$\gamma < kh$ 133, g 142, j 179, v 368,
 \bar{z} 440.

$(\gamma)\gamma < gn$ 498.

$\gamma d < kt$ 462.

- $\gamma m < km$ 472.
 $\gamma z < ktz$ 463.
 $\eta g < \eta k$ 506, $\hat{n}c$ 528, m 321.
 $\eta gh < \eta kh$ 509, ηg 511.
 $c < k$ 118, kh 134, = c 155, < ch 173, j 180, t 223, \acute{s} 424, h 447.
 $(c)c < ks$ 484, cy 513, cv 514, $\hat{n}c$ 529, ty 564, ts 591, tsy 595, $\acute{s}c$ 810, sc 856, $\acute{s}k$ 908, $\acute{s}y$ 930.
 $\acute{c} < c$ 170.
 $\acute{c} < k$ 118, c 156, \acute{s} 424.
 $(\acute{c})\acute{c} < cv$ 514, tr 567, $\acute{s}y$ 930.
 $ch < c$ 157, = ch 172, < \acute{s} 396, \acute{s} 405, s 411.
 $(c)ch < ks$ 485, ts 592, tsy 596, thy 598, ps 684, $\acute{s}c$ 811.
 $j < c$ 158, = j 178, < jh 189, y 331, r 350, s 412, \acute{s} 425, \acute{z} 441.
 $(j)j < ks$ 486, $j\hat{n}$ 517, jy 521, jv 524, $\hat{n}c$ 530, dy 607, dr 609, bj 691, rj 722, ry 763, hy 947.
 $\acute{j} < c$ 159, z 433.
 $j\hat{h} < j$ 181, = $j\hat{h}$ 188, < d 250, s 412.
 $(j)j\hat{h} < ks$ 486, jy 522, jv 525, dhy 619, dhr 626, dhv 629, $rj\hat{h}$ 725, sy 890, hy 948.
 $\hat{n} < n$ 276.
 $(\hat{n})\hat{n} < j\hat{n}$ 518, $\hat{n}c$ 532, ηy 554, ηy 661, $\acute{s}n$ 838.
 $\hat{n}j < \hat{n}c$ 531, ηy 553, ηy 660.
 $\acute{t} < ch$ 174, = \acute{t} 191, < $\acute{t}h$ 200, d 209, t 224.
 $(\acute{t})\acute{t} < nt$ 541, tt 559, tr 568, nth 641, rt 730, rth 739, $\acute{s}t$ 824, $\acute{s}tr$ 828, $\acute{s}th$ 834, st 861, sth 867.
 $tr < tr$ 569.
 $\acute{t}h < c$ 160, ch 175, = $\acute{t}h$ 199, < t 225, th 238.
 $(\acute{t})\acute{t}h < tr$ 570, ddh 603, rth 740, $\acute{s}t$ 825, $\acute{s}tr$ 829, $\acute{s}th$ 835, sty 865, sth 868.
 $\acute{d} < \acute{t}$ 192, $\acute{t}h$ 201, = \acute{d} 208, < t 226, d 251, dh 265, l 359, \acute{s} 397.
 $(\acute{d})\acute{d} < dg$ 539, nt 542, nd 546, ndh 549, tr 571, dr 610, pt 665, rt 731, rd 743, rdh 749, $\acute{s}t$ 826, $\acute{s}tr$ 830, $\acute{s}th$ 836, sth 869.
 $\acute{d}h < \acute{t}$ 193, $\acute{t}h$ 202, th 239, dh 266, r 351.
 $(\acute{d})\acute{d}h < ddh$ 604, dr 611, rd 744, rdh 750, $r\acute{s}$ 777, $\acute{s}t$ 827, $\acute{s}tr$ 831, $\acute{s}th$ 837.
 $n < n$ 277.
 $(n)n < k\acute{s}n$ 492, $j\hat{n}$ 519, $\hat{n}c$ 533, ηy 555, ηv 557, ηy 662, $r\hat{n}$ 726, rn 754, $\acute{s}n$ 839.
 $nt < nt\hat{h}$ 544.
 $n\acute{t}r < ntr$ 637.
 $nd < nt$ 543.
 $ndr < ntr$ 638, ndr 648.
 $ndh < nt\hat{h}$ 545.
 $nh < sn$ 840, sn 874, hn 940.
 $t < k$ 119, c 161, ch 176, \acute{t} 194, = t 220, < th 240, d 252, dh 267, s 413.
 $(t)t < kt$ 464, gdh 495, tm 561, ty 565, tr 572, tv 581, nt 632, nth 644, ndh 651, pt 666, rk 715, rt 732, st 862, sth 870, $\acute{s}t$ 915.
 $tr < rk$ 716.
 $th < c$ 162, t 227, = th 237, < d 253.
 $(t)th < kth$ 469, nt 633, ndh 652, rth 741, st 863, sty 865, sth 871, $\acute{s}t$ 916.
 $\theta < c$ 162, t 227, s 414.
 $d < c$ 163, j 182, \acute{d} 210, t 228, = d 246, < dh 268, r 352, s 415.
 $(d)d < gdh$ 496, jv 526, tv 582, dy 608, dr 612, dv 616, dhy 620, dhr 627, dhv 630, nt 634, nth 645, ndh 653, pt 667, bd 694, rt 733, rd 745, $\acute{s}n$ 922.
 $dr < tr$ 573.
 $dh < th$ 241, d 254, = dh 264.
 $(d)dh < gdh$ 497, dhy 621, dhr 628, dhv 631, pt 668, bdh 695, rd 746, rdh 751, $rdhv$ 752.
 $\delta < d$ 254.

- n* < *n̄* 218, *d* 255, = *n* 275, < *m* 320, *r* 353, *l* 360, *v* 370.
(u)n < *kn* 470, *kšn* 492, *gn* 499, *jñ* 520, *ñc* 534, *dg* 540, *nđ* 548, *nđh* 550, *ny* 556, *nv* 558, *nt* 636, *ndr* 650, *ndh* 655, *ny* 663, *nv* 664, *rñ* 727, *rn* 755, *ršn* 785, *şn* 841, *sn* 875, *šn* 923, *hn* 941.
nd < *nđ* 547, *nt* 635, *nth* 646, *ndr* 649, *ndh* 654, *šn* 922.
ndh < *nth* 647, *hn* 942.
(n)nh < *ndh* 656.
nm < *dm* 606, *sv* 902.
nv < *sv* 902.
nh < *şn* 842, *sn* 876.
p < *k* 120, *t* 195, = *p* 287, < *ph* 296, *b* 304.
p(p) < *km* 473, *tp* 560, *tm* 563, *tv* 583, *pn* 675, *py* 679, *pr* 680, *mp* 702, *rp* 758, *rv* 767, *lp* 799, *şp* 844, *sp* 877.
pt < *tm* 562.
ps < *fs* 690.
ph < *p* 289, = *ph* 295.
(p)ph < *şp* 845, *sp* 878, *sph* 883, *sv* 903.
f < *p* 289, *bh* 313, *m* 322, *v* 371, *h* 448.
f(f) < *tv* 584, *pn* 676, *sv* 903.
ft < *kt* 465, *pt* 669.
fth < *pt* 670.
fr < *tr* 574.
b < *n* 278, *p* 290, *ph* 297, = *b* 303, < *bh* 314, *m* 323, *y* 332, *v* 372.
b(b) < *jv* 527, *tv* 585, *dv* 617, *pt* 671, *bj* 693, *br* 696, *bhr* 698, *mb* 704, *rb* 759, *rv* 768, *lv* 805, *vy* 807.
bđ < *bj* 692.
bz < *ps* 685.
bh < *k* 121, *dh* 269, *ph* 298, *b* 305, = *bh* 311, < *y* 333, *v* 373, *h* 449.
(b)bh < *bhy* 697, *bhr* 699, *rdhv* 753, *rbh* 760, *rv* 769, *şm* 847, *hv* 949.
- m* < *n* 279, *p* 291, *b* 306, *bh* 315, = *m* 319, < *v* 374.
m(m) < *km* 471, *gm* 501, *dm* 605, *nm* 659, *pn* 677, *pn̄y* 678, *mn* 701, *mb* 705, *mbh* 706, *mr* 710, *mv* 711, *rm* 761, *lm* 801, *śm* 814, *sm* 848, *śm* 925, *hm* 944.
m̄b < *mp* 703, *mr* 709, *lm* 800, *hm* 945.
mbh < *hm* 946.
mv < *m* 327.
m̄h < *bh* 316, *mbh* 707, *śm* 849, *sm* 884.
mz < *ps* 686.
y < *ē* 92, *k* 122, *kh* 137, *g* 143, *c* 164, *j* 183, *t* 229, *th* 242, *d* 256, *dh* 270, *p* 292, *b* 307, = *y* 330, < *v* 375, *ś* 398, *s* 406, *h* 451.
y(y) < *d̄hy* 622.
yah < *ā* 64.
r < *r̄* 81, *t̄* 196, *d̄* 211, *d̄h* 215, *t̄* 230, *d̄* 257, *n̄* 280, *ȳ* 334, = *r̄* 349, < *l̄* 361.
r(r) < *kr* 476, *ghr* 505, *tr* 575, *ntr* 639, *pt* 672, *pr* 681, *rñ* 728, *rt* 735, *rd* 747, *rn* 756, *rm* 762, *ry* 764, *rv* 771, *rş* 778, *ršn* 786, *rh* 795.
ra < *r̄* 69.
ri < *r̄* 72.
ru < *r̄* 75.
rj < *ry* 765.
rth < *rt* 729.
rd < *rt* 734.
rbh < *rv* 770.
rs < *ršn* 787.
rz < *rj* 723, *rś* 779, *ršn* 788.
rh < *th* 203.
r̄ < *d̄* 211.
rh̄ < *th̄* 203, *dh̄* 214.
l̄ < *t̄* 197, *th̄* 204, *d̄* 212, *d̄h̄* 216, *n̄* 219, *t̄* 231, *th̄* 243, *d̄* 258, *dh̄* 271, *n̄* 281, *ȳ* 335, *r̄* 354, = *l̄* 358, < *ś̄* 426.
l(l) < *kl* 478, *tr* 576, *tv* 586, *dr* 613,

- dhy* 623, *ntr* 640, *rt* 736, *rd* 748,
rn 757, *ry* 766, *rz* 794, *rh* 796, *ly*
 803, *lv* 806, *št* 917.
lx < *ktr* 467.
ld < *rt* 737.
ls < *sr* 894.
lh < *th* 205, *dh* 216.
(l)lh < *ly* 804.
l < *t* 198, *d* 213, *dh* 217, *n* 219, *th*
 244, *d* 259, *n* 282, *r* 355, *l* 362.
l(l) < *str* 832.
lh < *dh* 217.
v < *k* 123, *kh* 138, *g* 144, *j* 184,
t 232, *d* 260, *dh* 272, *n* 283, *p* 293,
ph 299, *b* 308, *bh* 317, *m* 324,
y 336, = *v* 364, < *s* 399, *s* 416,
h 450.
v(v) < *tv* 587, *dv* 618, *pt* 673, *rv* 772,
vy 808, *vr* 809, *sv* 904, *šm* 926,
hv 950.
va < *ū* 65, *ō* 107.
vd < *pt* 674.
vr < *bhr* 700.
vs < *ps* 687.
ś < *ś* 395, < *ś* 407, *s* 417.
ś(s) < *rś* 780, *śr* 818.
śc < *cch* 512.
sch < *cch* 512.
ṣ = *ṣ* 403, *s* 418.
ṣ(s) < *rṣ* 781, *ṣy* 851.
s < *kh* 135, *c* 165, *ch* 177, *t* 233,
m 325, *ś* 400, *ś* 408, = *s* 410, <
ś 427, *z* 434, *h* 452.
s(s) < *ks* 487, *ñc* 535, *ty* 566, *tr* 577,
ts 594, *tsy* 597, *thy* 599, *ps* 688,
rś 774, *rśv* 775, *rś* 782, *śc* 812,
śm 815, *śr* 819, *śl* 820, *śv* 821,
śy 852, *sc* 859, *st* 864, *sp* 879, *sm*
 885, *sy* 891, *sr* 895, *sv* 905, *šk* 909,
št 918.
sk < *šk* 910.
st < *sth* 872.
str < *pstr* 689.
sp < *tv* 588.
sf < *sp* 880.
sb < *sp* 881, *sm* 886.
sm < *šm* 927.
sr < *dr* 614.
sl < *sr* 896.
ś < *k* 124, *c* 166, *s* 419, = *ś* 423,
 < *z* 435, *ž* 435, 442, *h* 453.
ś(ś) < *kś* 488, *tr* 578, *ts* 593, *pś* 683,
rś 781, *rśn* 789, *sc* 857, *sth* 873,
sy 892, *sr* 897, *šk* 911, *šm* 928,
šy 931.
šk < *sc* 858, *št* 919.
šč < *šk* 912.
št < *šty* 920.
šn < *kšn* 493, *rśn* 790.
šv < *rśv* 792.
z < *k* 126, *c* 167, *j* 185, *jh* 190,
s 420, *ś* 428, = *z* 432, < *ž* 443,
h 454.
z(z) < *kz* 490, *jy* 523, *dhy* 624, *sm*
 887, *šn* 924, *zd* 934, *žd* 938.
zy < *kz* 463.
zd < *žd* 939.
zm < *sm* 888, *zv* 936.
ž < *k* 126, *g* 145, *c* 168, *j* 186, *ś* 429,
z 436, = *ž* 439, < *h* 454.
ž(ž) < *jy* 523, *rj* 724, *rśn* 791, *šy*
 932.
žg < *zg* 933.
žb < *zb* 937.
žm < *sm* 889, *šm* 929.
h < *k* 125, *kh* 136, *g* 146, *gh* 152,
c 169, *th* 206, *t* 234, *th* 245, *d* 261,
dh 273, *ph* 300, *bh* 318, *y* 337,
ś 401, *ś* 409, *s* 421, *ś* 430, *z* 437,
 = *h* 444.
h(h) < *ks* 489, *ñc* 536, *tv* 589, *dhy*
 625, *rg* 721, *rśv* 776, *rś* 783, *str*
 833, *śn* 843, *sp* 846, *śy* 853, *sr*
 898, *sv* 906, *hn* 943, *hv* 951.
ht < *kt* 466.
hn < *kšn* 494.
hm < *mbh* 708.
hr < *ktr* 468, *kr* 477, *tr* 579, *dr*
 615.
hr < *th* 207.

<i>hl</i> < <i>pr</i> 682, <i>rt</i> 738, <i>rth</i> 742, <i>rs</i> 793.	<i>m̐dh</i> < <i>nth</i> 643.
<i>m̐</i> < <i>m</i> 326.	<i>m̐d</i> < <i>ñj</i> 537.
<i>m̐gh</i> < <i>ṛkh</i> 509.	<i>m̐r</i> < <i>ṛdh</i> 551.
<i>m̐j(j)</i> < <i>ndhy</i> 657, <i>śr</i> 816.	<i>m̐v</i> < <i>lm</i> 802.
<i>m̐(j)jh</i> < <i>ndhy</i> 658, <i>śr</i> 817.	<i>m̐s</i> < <i>rś</i> 773.
<i>m̐th</i> < <i>nth</i> 642.	<i>m̐z</i> < <i>śn</i> 924.
	<i>m̐h</i> < <i>ṛdh</i> 552, <i>m̐gh</i> 712.

III. WORD-INDEX

(Numbers refer to §§.)

A. Sanskrit.

a.
akṛṇavam 74.
akṛṇōt 74.
akṣapāta 193.
agni 498, 960.
agra, 503.
anākōtha 204.
anākōl(l)a 204.
anaga 34.
anagāra 3, 355.
anagulikā 4.
acalā 158.
acyuta 513.
ajagara 187.
añjana 537.
aṭavi 192.
atasi 11, 410.
atyumnata 565.
atra 458.
atha 241.
athavā 245.
adya 607, 608.
adhas 11.
adhijya 522.
adhvan 631.
anurāga 11.
anurūpa 958.
anuśāsana 417.
antahkaraṇa 954.
andhakāra 656.
anya 661, 663.
anvēṣaṇa 664.
anvēṣanti 407.

api 290.
apriya 680.
apsarā 684.
abhimanyu 324.
**abhiśāna* 313.
abhyantāra 697.
abhyayana 341.
amātya 11, 565.
araghatta 152.
araṇya 11, 554, 556.
arka 713.
argha 720.
artha 739, 740.
arbuda 759.
alanakāra 11.
alika 37.
avakāśa 128.
avajñā 380.
avaṭa 11, 958.
avatāra 383.
avatrāṇa 11.
avāra 382.
avalambati 381.
avavāda 382.
avaśyāya 382.
avasthita 380.
aśiti 395, 400.
aśōka 11.
aśru 816, 817, 819.
aśva 821.
aśvatara 879.
aṣṭi 8.
aṣṭāu 825.
astamanaya 958.

asthi 867, 869.
asmi 884.
ā.
ākāra 122.
ākāśa 125.
āgata 147.
ācārya 163, 164.
ājñā 516.
ājñācakra 475, 519.
ātapa 232.
ātman 561, 562, 563.
ādēśa 256.
āpāta 227.
āpūda 291.
**ābhātāpa* 16, 312.
āma 139.
āmālaka 324, 358.
āmra 709, 710.
āyudha 336.
ārabdha 351.
āryaputra 294.
ālabbhiṣyanti 407.
ālambana 361, 705.
ālāna 955.
ālōka 19.
āvarta 732.
āvīrbhutrā 340.
āvīṣkṛta 388.
āśā 19.
āścarya 8, 810.
i.
ikṣu 26, 27, 29, 487.
itara 229.

<i>iti</i> 25.	<i>uṣman</i> 847, 849.	<i>kaṇṭaka</i> 541, 542, 543.
<i>idānīm</i> 31, 328, 458, 953.	<i>ū.</i>	<i>kaṇva</i> 557.
<i>iva</i> 24.	<i>ūnavimśati</i> 65.	<i>kathana</i> 245.
<i>iṣu</i> 27.	<i>ūrja</i> 63.	<i>katham</i> 328.
<i>ihaḷōka</i> 456.	<i>ūrṇa</i> 727, 755.	<i>kathayati</i> 114, 342.
<i>ī.</i>	<i>ūrṇavābhi</i> 313.	<i>kathā</i> 240.
<i>īśvara</i> 37, 821.	<i>ūrdhva</i> 752, 753.	<i>kadamba</i> 258.
<i>u.</i>	<i>ūrmi</i> 83.	<i>kadalī</i> 260, 261, 262.
<i>ukta</i> 377.	<i>ṛ.</i>	<i>kanyā</i> 660, 661.
<i>ucchiṣṭa</i> 512.	<i>ṛkṣa</i> 72, 485, 487.	<i>kapardikā</i> 747.
<i>ucyatē</i> 377.	<i>ṛtu</i> 74, 220.	<i>kapāṭa</i> 8, 191, 290, 293.
<i>udupa</i> 211, 213.	<i>ṛtvij</i> 70.	<i>kapāla</i> 293.
<i>uta</i> 228.	<i>ṛddhā</i> 72.	<i>kapiñjala</i> 28, 293.
<i>utkaṇṭhā</i> 461.	<i>ṛṣi</i> 71, 82.	<i>kapittha</i> 294.
<i>utpadyantē</i> 560.	<i>ē.</i>	<i>kapōta</i> 290.
<i>utsada</i> 594.	<i>ēka</i> 86, 92, 114.	<i>kabandha</i> 306, 307.
<i>utsava</i> 48.	<i>ēkaṣaṣṭi</i> 409.	<i>kampati</i> 703, 953.
<i>utsuka</i> 594.	<i>ēkasaptati</i> 421.	<i>kambala</i> 704, 705.
<i>udaka</i> 51, 122.	<i>ēkādaśa</i> 9, 86, 87, 257.	<i>kambōja</i> 180.
<i>udumbara</i> 51.	<i>ētādrśa</i> 257.	<i>karīṣa</i> 406.
<i>udūdḥā</i> 216.	<i>ēdrśa</i> 458.	<i>karōṭi</i> 195.
<i>udghātayati</i> 601, 602.	<i>ēnaś</i> 281, 282.	<i>karkaṭa</i> 713.
<i>udghōṣa</i> 602.	<i>ēraṇḍa</i> 93.	<i>karkaṭikā</i> 4, 713.
<i>udvēṣṭati</i> 618.	<i>ēva</i> 340.	<i>karkara</i> 713.
<i>udvōḍha</i> 216.	<i>ō.</i>	<i>karṇa</i> 727.
<i>undara</i> 45.	<i>ōjas</i> 103.	<i>kartarī</i> 732.
<i>undura</i> 45.	<i>ōṣṭha</i> 458, 835.	<i>karpāsa</i> 18, 410, 421.
<i>unmārga</i> 659.	<i>āu.</i>	<i>karpūra</i> 349, 758.
<i>upaṭṭhāyaka</i> 346.	<i>āutsukya</i> 110.	<i>karbura</i> 44.
<i>upadhyāya</i> 51, 293, 619.	<i>āupamya</i> 112.	<i>karman</i> 761.
<i>upaviśati</i> 51.	<i>āupaśivi</i> 28.	<i>karṣaṇa</i> 777.
<i>upaviṣṭa</i> 376.	<i>āuśadhi</i> 273.	<i>kalpa</i> 799.
<i>upasthāna</i> 51.	<i>k.</i>	<i>kalpatē</i> 799.
<i>upasthāpitvā</i> 16.	<i>kaṁsa</i> 890.	<i>kalya</i> 803, 804.
<i>urvaśi</i> 809.	<i>kakkōla</i> 119, 957.	<i>kāmsya</i> 890.
<i>ulūkhala</i> 50.	<i>karakana</i> 506.	<i>kāka</i> 116.
<i>ulkā</i> 50, 797.	<i>kacchapa</i> 5, 291.	<i>kāncana</i> 535.
<i>uṣita</i> 377.	<i>kaṭāha</i> 192, 196, 197.	<i>kātara</i> 229.
<i>uṣṭra</i> 828.	<i>kaṭhina</i> 25.	<i>kārya</i> 763, 765.
<i>uṣṇa</i> 838, 839, 840, 841, 842.		<i>kārṣāpaṇa</i> 783.
		<i>kāla</i> 362.
		<i>kālāyasa</i> 346.
		<i>kāsa</i> 115.

kiñculaka 363.
kiñva 557, 558.
kiyant 345.
kirāta 118.
kisalaya 339.
kīta 37, 192.
kūdrśa 40.
kīra 116.
kīrti 37.
kīla 37.
kuñcikā 530, 531, 953.
kuṭumba 45.
kuṭumbaka 194.
kuṭhara 205.
kuṭhārī 200, 202, 203,
 205, 206, 207.
kuddāla 50, 127.
kunda 118.
kupyati 679.
kuḷja 115, 691, 692,
 693.
kumāra 327.
kumbhakāra 706, 707,
 708.
kurkura 715, 716.
kula 48.
kuṣṭha 50, 836, 837.
kuṣṭhin 50.
kūṭa 198.
kūpa 59, 115, 294, 329.
kṛta 71, 228, 231.
kṛtvā 80.
krpaṇa 71.
kṛṣi 76, 118, 119.
kṛṣṇa 840, 841, 842.
klpta 84.
kēyūra 88.
kēśarī 401.
kāiṭabha 193.
kāivarta 98.
kōkila 122, 123, 128,
 959.
kōṭi 357.
kōṣṭha 834.
kāukṣēyaka 110.

kāumudi 112.
kṛda 40.
kṛdati 212.
krōḍaka 115.
kliṣṭa 478.
kleśa 960.
kṣaṇa 487.
kṣatriya 485.
kṣamā 3, 319.
kṣaya 342.
kṣāra 355, 491.
kṣīṇa 486.
kṣīyatē 486.
kṣīra 35, 37, 480, 490.
kṣudra 484, 610.
kṣudhā 264, 268.
kṣētra 485, 572.
kṣēpaṇa 955.

kh.

khaṭvā 5.
khaḍga 538, 539, 540,
 960.
khaṇḍaka 546, 548.
khanēt 277.
khara 131.
khalu 132, 363.
khalvāta 806.
khā 132.
khādati 16, 131, 256.
khādāna 262.
khādita 256.

g.

gaccha 512.
gaja 183.
gaṇḍaka 548.
gata 228.
gadgada 257.
ga(m)bhīra 37, 141.
garuḍa 141.
garjana 722.
garjita 722.
garta 731.

gardabha 140, 743, 744,
 745, 746, 955.
garbha 760.
garbhini 25, 42.
garha 795, 796.
gala 358.
gahvara 949.
gāthā 245.
gunagaṇayukta 218.
guhya 947, 948.
grdhra 71, 626, 627,
 628.
grha p. ix, 67, 68, 78,
 82 (*bis*), 142.
grhagōdhikā 271.
grhastha 72, 872.
grhītvā 40.
gēha p. ix, 67, 78, 142.
gēhinī 456.
gāirika 27, 98.
gōdhūma 101, 106, 142,
 273, 274, 959.
gōṣṭhika 118.
gōṣṭhī 835.
gōsvāmika 324, 326.
gāura 112.
gāurava 109.
grantha 642, 643, 644.
granthi 641, 642.
grāma 16, 319.
grīṣma 847, 848, 849.

gh.

ghaṭa 148, 192.
ghṛta 71.
ghōṭaka 151.

c.

cakōra 122.
cakra 165, 169, 475.
cakṣu 9, 10.
cañcu 9, 160, 162.
caturtha 235, 739, 740,
 741, 959.
caturdaśa 745.

<i>catvāri</i> 155, 156, 581, 587.	<i>jāgarati</i> 12.	<i>tāmra</i> 224, 709, 710.
<i>catvāriṃśat</i> 354, 355.	<i>jāmātrka</i> 81.	<i>tāmraparṇa</i> 727.
<i>candra</i> 648, 649, 650.	<i>jālma</i> 801.	<i>tāla</i> 359.
<i>campaka</i> 702.	<i>jihvā</i> 28, 182, 185, 949, 950, 951, 952.	<i>tāvat</i> 228, 374.
<i>carana</i> 354.	<i>jira</i> 38.	<i>tintiḍi</i> 27, 30.
<i>carmakāra</i> 128, 959.	<i>jīva</i> 35, 376.	<i>tiraścīna</i> 39.
<i>carman</i> 761.	<i>jīvita</i> 35.	<i>tilaka</i> 224.
<i>carvayati</i> 767, 768.	<i>jugupsati</i> 182, 684.	<i>tiṣṭhati</i> 223.
<i>calati</i> 358.	<i>jūta</i> 235.	<i>tīkṣna</i> 37.
<i>calana</i> 5.	<i>jñāti</i> 520.	<i>tīrtha</i> 41, 83.
<i>cāṇakya</i> 474.	<i>jñāna</i> 516, 517.	<i>tuccha</i> 233, 234.
<i>cāmara</i> 12, 328.	<i>jyā</i> 522.	<i>tunḍa</i> 220, 225.
<i>cikitsā</i> 161.	<i>jyōti</i> 220.	<i>tulādhāra</i> 272.
<i>cihna</i> 941, 942.	<i>jyōtsnā</i> 103.	<i>*tusya</i> 890.
✓ <i>cuṭ</i> 191.	<i>jvara</i> 527.	<i>tūrya</i> 59, 764.
<i>cūrṇa</i> 59, 728.	<i>jvalati</i> 525.	<i>trṇa</i> 66, 82.
<i>cēta</i> 196, 197.	<i>jvāla</i> 524, 526, 527.	<i>trpyati</i> 227.
<i>cōra</i> 106, 169.		<i>trṣṇā</i> 71, 82, 843.
<i>cāurya</i> 110.	<i>jh.</i>	<i>tē</i> 228.
<i>cyavatē</i> 513.	<i>jhampa</i> 188.	<i>tējas</i> 182.
<i>ch.</i>	<i>jhalla</i> 189.	<i>tāila</i> 98.
<i>chagala</i> 141.	<i>jhāulika</i> 112.	<i>trayaścātvarīṃśat</i> 813.
✓ <i>chap</i> 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 287.	<i>ṭ.</i>	<i>trayastrīṃśat</i> 336.
<i>chardati</i> 743.	<i>ṭalati</i> 362.	<i>trayōdaśa</i> 8, 13, 344.
<i>chāyā</i> 22, 177, 329, 337, 378.	<i>ḍ.</i>	<i>trayōvīṃśati</i> 376.
<i>chidra</i> 613.	✓ <i>ḍap</i> 210.	<i>trimaṇḍala</i> 572.
✓ <i>chuṭ</i> 191.	<i>ḍākinī</i> 397.	<i>trīṇi</i> 569.
<i>chupati</i> 43.	<i>t.</i>	<i>truṭati</i> 191.
<i>j.</i>	<i>takta</i> 462.	<i>trāilōkya</i> 474.
<i>jagat</i> 143.	<i>takṣan</i> 226.	<i>tvarita</i> 581.
<i>jaṇḡala</i> 181, 511.	<i>tataḥ</i> 228.	<i>d.</i>
<i>jaṇḡha</i> 178.	<i>tathā</i> 241.	<i>damṣṭrā</i> 830, 831, 832, 833.
<i>jana</i> 8, 181.	<i>tapas</i> 289, 294.	<i>daka</i> 122.
<i>janman</i> 659.	<i>tapta</i> 667, 670.	<i>dakṣiṇa</i> 481, 489.
<i>japana</i> 287.	<i>tapyatē</i> 679.	<i>dadru</i> 610, 611, 960.
<i>jambuka</i> 705.	<i>tamasa</i> 3.	<i>dadrūghna</i> 249, 957.
<i>jambūla</i> 360.	<i>taru</i> 53.	<i>dudhi</i> 953.
<i>jarāyu</i> 332.	<i>talē</i> 94.	✓ <i>dam</i> 9.
<i>jala</i> 185.	<i>taskara</i> 854.	<i>dayālu</i> 330.
<i>jalūkikā</i> 120, 957.	<i>tādrśa</i> 257.	<i>darśana</i> 773.
	<i>tāmbūla</i> 63.	<i>daśa</i> 246, 401.
		<i>daśati</i> 246, 251.
		<i>dahati</i> 251.

dāḍima 212.
dāman 322.
dālima 212.
dāva 375.
divasa 25, 376, 421.
divā 375.
dirgha 35, 83, 720, 721.
duḥkha 954.
dukūla 57.
dugdha 495, 496, 497.
duṇḍubha 546.
duṇḍubhi 315.
durōsārīta 356.
durgā 252.
durgādēvi 958.
durbala 12, 44, 759.
duṣkṛta 822.
duhitā 52, 250, 254.
dūta 251.
dūrvā 22.
dr̥mhitā 254.
dr̥dha 217.
dr̥ṣṭi 33.
dr̥ṣṭha 55.
dēva 85, 365.
dēvakula 958.
dēvara 87, 375, 392.
dēvālaya 16, 339.
dēśīya 395.
dēhālī 360.
dōgdhum 495.
dōlā 251.
dōhada 258, 259.
dōhala 258, 259.
dāuvārīka 110.
dyuti 607.
dyūtākara 3.
dyōtāyati 335.
drākṣā 612.
dvādaśan 617, 958.
dvādaśanavārṣa 398.
dvāra 616, 617.
dvi 616.
dviguṇa 147, 959.
dvitīya 37.

dviḥbhāga 30.
dvīpa 616.
dvēṣas 617.
dh.
✓dhakk 266.
dhattūra 268.
dhanu 4.
dhamatī 268.
dharma 268.
dhavala 264, 383.
dhārayati 15, 267, 342.
dhāvaka 264.
dhūma 59, 61, 326, 328.
dhr̥ta 80.
dhr̥ṣṭa 265, 266.
dhēnu 277.
dhāīrya 97.
dhyāna 619 (bis).
dhruva 628.
dhvaja 629, 630, 631.

n.
nakula 123, 128.
nakta 462.
nakha 5, 131, 956.
nagara 141, 143, 144.
nagna 5, 278, 498.
nadī 262, 277.
nabhas 317, 329.
nayati 342.
nayana 342.
nartakī 730.
nava 'new' 281.
nava 'nine' 374.
navaka 129, 281.
navatī 364.
navanavati 370, 956.
navanīta 281.
nahyati 948.
nāga 143.
nāpita 290, 959.
nābhi 315.
nāman 275, 326, 327.
nāmayati 275.

nārikēla 122, 128.
nihśvāsa 954.
nikāṭa 959.
nikaṣa 125.
nitya 565, 566.
nidrā 22, 30, 609, 612.
nimba 281, 705.
nirgrantha 718.
nirghṛṇa 720.
nirjhara 725.
niṣkarṣaṇa 822.
niṣputra 844.
nīcē 155.
nīḍa 40.
nīpa 291.
nīla 55, 281.
nūnam 57, 59.
nūpura 62, 955.
nēmi 328.
nāīrañjana 280, 956.
nāu 108.

p.
pakta 466.
pakva 2, 3, 5, 287, 479.
pakṣa 481, 487, 489.
pankti 507.
pacati 165.
pañca 535, 536.
pañcadaśa 263.
pañcaviṃśati 4.
pañcāsata 529, 532, 533, 534.
pañjara 3.
paṭhati 202, 203.
paṭhana 201.
patatī 226.
patākā 226.
pattana 559.
pathya 598.
pāda 256.
padika 262.
pantha 647.
param 356.
parampara 702.

paraśu 399.
parasvant 290.
parigha 289.
paridhiyatē 955.
parīkṣā 36.
parut 5.
paruṣa 289.
parē 356.
paryanaka 506, 766.
paryāna 766.
parvata 768, 772.
parvan 770.
palāyati 347.
palāśa 359.
pavana 364, 365.
paśu 401.
paścāt 287, 810, 811,
 812, 813.
**paścē* 94.
pādika 261.
pāpa 293.
pāribhadra 289.
pārśva 775, 776.
pāśa 289, 401.
picumanda 955.
pitar 235.
pipāsā 292.
pipīlika 288, 957.
pippala 358, 361.
pībati 309.
pīṭha 201, 202.
pīḍana 208, 211, 213.
puṇya 554, 555.
putra 568, 571, 572.
punar 44, 291.
pupphusa 49.
pura 48.
purandara 352.
puravāsin 372.
puruṣa 43, 45, 408.
puṣkara 823.
puṣpa 289, 844, 845.
puṣya 851, 852, 853.
pustaka 50, 863.
pūgaphala 12.

pūya 332.
pūraṇa 350.
pūrṇa 728.
pūrva 62.
pr(c)hati 177, 512.
prthaktva 4.
prth(i)vī 9, 74, 245.
prdāku 68, 82, 329.
prṣṭha 71, 76, 77, 82
 (bis), 835.
pāura 109.
pāuṣya 851, 852, 853.
prati 224, 680.
pratibhāti 311.
prativāsin 389.
prativēśaka 87.
prativēśayati 390.
prathama 4, 238, 244,
 245.
prathamaputra 570.
**prathara* 3.
pradakṣiṇa 5.
pradipta 258.
pradēśa 252.
prabhavāmi 379.
pravatā 382.
pravartati 375.
pravāda 251.
pravāsin 38.
prasāda 422.
prastara 863.
prasthāpana 680.
prahara 3.
prāpnōti 675, 677.
priya 345.
prēma 85.

ph.

phadīnga 296.
phara 295.
phalgu 8, 296.
phāla 361.
phupphusa 49.
phēna 87.

b.

baḍiśa 209.
baḍura 9.
badhira 8, 273.
badhnati 303.
bandhyā 308, 658.
balivarda 363, 748.
balvaja 304, 805.
bahurūpa 61.
bādha 304.
bāṣpa 308, 844, 845,
 846.
bāhu 53.
biḍāla 955.
bindu 27.
bilva 806.
bīja 37.
bībhatsa 591.
budhyatē 303, 619, 624.
bubhuksā 480.
bṛhaspati 305, 456,
 879.
brahmaṇya 553.
brāhmaṇa 218, 696,
 944, 945, 946.

bh.

bhakta 464.
bhaginī 28, 147, 314,
 959.
bhaṅgā 315.
bhaṭa 192.
bhaṇati 316.
bhadra 613.
bhaya 342.
bharati 2.
bhavati 318, 382.
bhaviṣyāmi 853.
bhaviṣyāsi 418.
bhaviṣyē 384.
bhasvara 905.
bhāgadhēya 147.
bhāginēya 16, 146.
bhāṇḍa 318.

bhānumatī 46.
bhāṣā 404.
bhāṣya 357.
bhinadmi 606.
bhīma 40.
bhīṣma 36.
bhūmi 56, 311, 326.
bhōga 140.
bhōjana 99.
bhramara 325, 698, 699.
bhrātara 699.
bhrātrja 178.
bhrātrjāyā 178.
bhrūmukha 57.

m.

makṣikā 481, 485, 487.
maga 141.
maṭha 199.
matsya 595, 596, 597.
mathana 237.
madgu 600.
madhu 268.
madhura 270.
madhya 8, 319, 619, 620, 621, 624, 625.
madhvālu 629.
manōrana 4, 323.
mantra 637, 638.
manmatha 324.
manyāmi 663.
mayūra 343.
marakata 116.
masūra 60.
mahārāṣṭra 829.
mahārgḥa 16, 444, 719.
mahiṣa 323, 329.
māca 158.
mātar 232, 235.
mātrka 81.
mātra 19.
māna 459.
mānanā 276.
mānuṣa 4, 404.

mārga 16.
mārgayati 717.
mārgaśira 16.
mārgaśrṣa 778.
mitra 580.
mithyā 598, 599.
mīmāṃs 324.
mukta 461.
muktā 50, 464.
mukha 44, 131, 136, 138.
mugdha 497.
mucanti 163.
mudga 600.
mudgara 4, 13, 600.
mudrā 43, 612.
muṣala 48.
muṣṭi 48.

muhūrta 732.
mūḍha 214.
mūḍhatva 215.
mūlya 58, 59, 804.
mūṣ 58.
mūṣa 403.
mṛga 71.
mṛgaya 336.
mṛgāṅka 71.
mṛṇāla 74.
mṛta 68, 319.
mṛttikā 68, 82 (bis), 559.
mṛṣā(vādin) 79, 82 (bis).
mṛṣṭa 824.
mēgha 89, 150, 152.
māuli 109.
mlāyati 960.
mlēccha 86.

y.

ya 331.
yajña 515.
yat prabhṛti 329.
yathā 3, 331.
yadi 246, 252.

yantragṛha 331.
yabhati 330.
yāmala 324, 361.
yaṣṭi 335, 825.
yāna 331.
yāvat 374.
yuga 50, 142.
yugala 140, 147.
yugma 501.
yusmākam 338.
yūkā 338.
yūtha 237.
yōktra 99.
yōgya 331, 502.
yāuvana 112, 331.

r.

rakta 464.
raṇḍā 547, 548.
ratna 960.
ratnī 354.
ratha 242, 245.
raṇaṅjaya 337.
raraṭa 359, 360.
raśmi 815.
rājakula 959.
rājan 180, 183, 184, 187, 349.
rājila 27.
rājñī 519.
rājya 521.
rātrī 19, 572, 580.
rāyati 348.
ruknavati 471.
rukminī 473.
ruṣṭa 827.
rēkhā 133, 349.
rējju 354.
rēpha 298.
rēhmi 358.
rōcati 103.
rōdana 959.
rōman 310, 326.
rōhita 106.

l.

- lagna* 358, 498.
lagyatē 502.
laghu 152.
laghuka 955.
lāṅgūla 510.
lajjā 329.
labdha 695.
labhati 318.
labhyatē 697.
lalāṭa 359, 360.
lavana 360, 380, 382.
laśuna 402.
laharī 8.
lāṅgala 360, 510.
likṣā 361, 955.
likhati 131, 137.
lipi 290.
limpati 358.
luṃt(h)ā 360.
lēṣṭu 826.
lēhmi 358.
lōṭyām 103.
lōpāśa 16, 17, 290, 293, 361.
lōha 444.
lōhakāra 103.

v.

- vanagana* 8.
vacana 171, 277.
vaḍiśa 209.
vatsa 5, 7, 591 (bis), 592, 593, 594.
vatsara 592.
vadhū 59, 270, 273.
vana 281, 282.
vanaspati 877, 879.
varkara 3, 9.
varga 717.
artakā 374, 730, 734.
artikā 364, 732.
ardhaki 750.
ardhatē 749, 750, 751.
arṣa 781.

- valkala* 797.
valgā 798.
valgulī 798.
vakni 940, 943.
vāṇija 219.
vāmana 328.
vāyu 339.
vālukā 45.
vāspa 372, 373.
viṃśati 28, 958.
vikarōti 123.
vikāsatē 123.
viḥatātē 151.
viḥaptika 374.
viḥāna 518, 519.
vidyut 24, 607.
vidhyati 620.
virala 372.
vilāsa 417.
viśa 409.
viśmaya 884, 885.
viḥala 949, 951.
vrkṣa p. ix, 69, 75.
vr̥tta 559.
vr̥tti 225.
vr̥ddha 68, 74, 82, 103, 372.
vr̥ddhatva 583.
vr̥ddhi 604.
vr̥nta 82.
vr̥ścika 364, 811.
vr̥ṣa 70.
vr̥ṣabha 68, 408.
vr̥ṣṭi 74.
vēdanā 87.
vēṣṭa 372, 373.
vēṣṭaka 826, 827.
vēṣṭana 90.
vāidya 608.
vāiśravaṇa 374.
vāihāyasa 346.
vāihāra 449.
vyamśana 807.
vyakti 33.
vyagra 503.

- vyajana* 187, 959.
vyatīta 807, 808.
vyathayati 241.
vyāghra 15, 16, 504, 807, 808.
vyāsa 357.
vyutsarga 594.
vrajati 180.
vr̥hi 456.
vrudati 955.

ś.

- śakatikā* 193.
śakrt 396, 419.
śakthi 469.
śaknōti 470.
śakta 461.
śana 396.
śaita 235, 395, 400.
śaphari 298, 300, 301.
śabara 303, 306.
śabda 694.
śayana 955.
śayanāsana 342.
śayyā 8.
śarad 262.
śarkara 713, 714.
śaka 397.
śakinī 397.
śakhā 133.
śāna 419.
śādvala 616.
śālūka 59.
śālnatī 800, 801, 802.
śāvaka 396.
śithila 25, 239, 958.
śilā 400.
śīśira 402.
śīśya 850.
śikara 121.
śighra 504.
śīta 841.
śīrṣa 37, 395, 401, 402, 780, 782, 783.
śuka 123.

śuṇṭhi 544, 545.
śuddha 603.
śuśruṣā 400.
śuṣka 822, 823.
śuśyati 852.
śūnya 662, 663.
śrīṅkhala 133, 508, 509,
 953.
śrīṅga 71.
śēṣa 396.
śāikṣa 489.
śāila 98.
śōbhati 400.
śāurya 111.
śmaśāna 814, 815.
śmaśru 9, 814, 819.
śyāmala 324, 361.
śraddhā 604.
śravaṇa 818, 819.
śrāmanēya 334.
śrikā 125.
ślāghā 960.
ślēṣma 820, 960.
śvaśura 349, 401.
śvaśrū 5, 818, 819, 821,
 895, 897.
śvāsa 821.

ṣ.

ṣaṭpada 405.
ṣaṇḍha 408, 549, 550,
 551, 552, 953.
ṣaṣ 405.
ṣaṣṭi 824, 825.
ṣōḍaśa 212, 213, 403,
 408.

s.

sakata 955.
sakala 116.
sakhi 136.
saṅgē 94.
saṭā 193.
satya 5, 13, 564, 566.
saṁmirundhati 269.

sandhi 8, 656.
sandhyā 657, 658.
sapādika 291.
saptacatvarimśat 8.
saptati 230.
saptan 410, 666.
saptaṣaṣṭi 665, 672.
saphala 298.
sabhika 417.
samaja 183.
samavasṛṣṭa 382.
samudra 4, 48, 955.
samṛddhi 5.
sambharanti 379.
sammarsa 9.
sarayu 333.
sarpa 421, 758.
sarva 768, 769, 772.
sarvajña 517, 518, 520.
sarṣapa 5.
sahasra 415, 895.
sādhu 273.
sārdha 749, 750.
sāsna 18.
siṁha 28, 410, 712,
 953.
sikṭha 469.
siṁcati 411.
sindūra 30.
sirā 411.
sīdati 422.
sīvyati 807.
sukumāra 115.
sukṛta 66.
sugandha 959.
sudhā 411.
supta 666, 667.
suruṅga 44.
suvarṇa 726, 727.
suvrṣṭi 372.
sūcī 171.
sūtra 569.
sūtradhāra 411.
sūrya 58, 764, 765, 960.
sr̥gāla 34, 147.

sr̥janakāra 125.
sāinya 96.
skandha 654, 656, 854,
 855, 953.
stana 276, 863.
stambha 860, 861.
stuti 45 (bis).
stāinya 862.
styāna 865.
strī 14, 34, 960.
sthala 362.
sthavira 384, 385.
sthānu 866.
sthāna 14, 280, 284, 868,
 871.
sthāpayati 19, 290.
sthāti 870.
sthira 870, 871.
sthūra 54, 57.
snāna 14, 275, 874, 876,
 960.
snāyu 334.
snuṣar 875.
snēha 452, 875.
snāhika 452.
spandana 878.
sparsa 877, 878.
sparsana 5, 774.
sphaṭika 125, 197.
sphuṭa 883.
sphurati 44.
sphōṭaka 882, 883.
sphōṭati 198.
smaraṇa 960.
smarati 885.
smṛti 885.
syāla 891.
sruc 158.
srōtas 895, 898, 899.
svaka 905.
svapant 291.
svapna 675.
svayampati 337.
svāṅga 905.
svamīn 905, 906.

<i>h.</i>	<i>hasta</i> 444, 455, 862, 863.	<i>*hr̥daka</i> 251.
<i>haṁsa</i> 412, 953.	<i>hāridra</i> 354.	<i>hr̥daya</i> 71, 256, 330, 339, 444.
<i>hatyā</i> 564.	<i>hintāla</i> 445.	<i>hyastana</i> 862.
<i>haridrā</i> 25.	<i>hiranya</i> 556.	<i>hrada</i> 955.

B. Iranian.

(O.P.= Old Persian, which is cited in the Index only when no Avesta equivalent is found.)

<i>a.</i>	<i>ahmākəm</i> 115.	<i>✓karəš</i> 8.
<i>aiwirocayeiti</i> 313.	<i>ahmi</i> 340.	<i>karšayən</i> 781.
<i>axšaēna</i> 12, 87, 89.	<i>ā.</i>	<i>karšta</i> 74.
<i>angušta</i> 11, 510, 913, 915, 917, 918, 958.	<i>āgəmat</i> 501.	<i>karšvar</i> 792.
<i>antarə</i> 958.	<i>ātarš</i> 3, 21, 222, 340.	<i>kasu</i> 410, 421.
<i>anya</i> 3, 663.	<i>āfrina</i> 279.	<i>kahrkāsa</i> 16, 115.
<i>āp</i> 20, 287, 290, 293, 294.	<i>āyapta</i> 21.	<i>kāvaya</i> 387.
<i>apərənāyu</i> 11, 67, 82.	<i>i.</i>	<i>kərata</i> 118.
<i>apas</i> 11.	<i>ištya</i> 24, 28, 920.	<i>kərənaoiti</i> 74, 82, 114.
<i>awra</i> 700, 955.	<i>u.</i>	<i>kərəma</i> 67, 70, 82.
O.P. <i>amānaya</i> 17.	<i>upairi</i> 51, 293.	<i>kušaiti</i> 429.
<i>arajah</i> 723, 724.	<i>uši</i> 50.	<i>kū</i> 59.
<i>arəša</i> 67, 71, 139, 429.	<i>uštra</i> 44, 51.	<i>kaofa</i> 103, 114, 117, 296, 297, 299, 300.
<i>ava</i> 371.	<i>āē.</i>	<i>x.</i>
<i>arada</i> 382.	<i>āēxa</i> 89, 92, 131.	<i>xara</i> 131, 132, 134, 135, 136.
O.P. <i>avākanam</i> 328.	<i>āēθrapaiti</i> 458.	<i>*xara-gaoša</i> 144.
<i>avivanta</i> 365.	<i>āēva</i> 92.	<i>xrafstra</i> 689.
<i>asaya</i> 177, 330.	<i>āēsma</i> 86, 887, 888.	<i>xraosōit</i> 960.
<i>asənga</i> 11.	<i>āēšma</i> 139.	<i>xšap(an)</i> 289, 290, 293, 481, 482, 488.
<i>aspa</i> 2, 5, 340, 458, 879.	<i>ao.</i>	<i>*xšapacara</i> 484.
<i>asman</i> 11, 886, 889.	<i>aošah</i> 458.	<i>xšafnīya</i> 678.
<i>asru</i> 9, 236, 894, 896, 897, 955.	<i>k.</i>	O.P. <i>xšāyaθīya</i> 346, 488.
<i>ašəmaoya</i> 149.	<i>ka</i> 116, 118.	<i>xšīra</i> 488.
<i>ašta</i> 8, 377, 914, 915, 916, 919.	<i>kata</i> 117, 118, 221.	<i>xšudra</i> 614.
<i>azəm</i> 377.	O.P. <i>καπίθη</i> 168.	<i>xšməka</i> 115, 338, 960.
<i>azdā</i> 11.	<i>kafa</i> 115, 295, 296.	<i>xšvaš</i> 428.
<i>aži dahāka</i> 357.	<i>kamna</i> 701.	<i>xšvašti</i> 8.
<i>ahmāka</i> 11, 15.	<i>karana</i> 955.	<i>g.</i>
	<i>karəta</i> 733, 734, 735.	<i>gaða</i> 142.
	<i>karəna</i> 754, 755.	

gainti 636.
garah 358.
garāma 140, 141, 145, 762.
gāu, gāv 140, 145, 376.
gātu 15.
gərəpta 71.
 O.P. *gaḍumava* 328.
gūθa 59, 237, 243, 245.
gaēthanəm 245.
gaona 105.
gaospənta 880.
gaoša 34, 99, 102, 103, 107, 141, 142, 423, 426, 427, 429, 431.

c.

caxra 155, 477.
caθwārō 4, 18, 156, 170, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 589, 590.
carəman 762.
cašman 155, 156, 157, 925, 926, 928, 929.
 **ci-gaona* 147.
ciθra 155, 165, 575, 579.
ciṭ 24.
cīrya 764.
 O.P. *ciy* 30.
 O.P. *cišciy* 28, 161.
cvant 514.

j.

jaini 3, 6, 7, 178, 179, 183, 185, 186, 275, 281.
jainti 178.
jafra 185, 186, 682.
 O.P. *jivāhy* 37.
jya 459, 523.
jvaiti 185, 186, 391.
jvant 635.

t.

tacaiti 167.
tanu 220.

tancišta 528.
tafnu 676.
tauruna 354.
taršti 8.
taršna 4, 7, 71, 220, 784, 785, 786, 789, 790, 791, 955.
tava 228.
taša 302.
tašaṭ 357.
tāpayeiti 227.
tərsaiti 18, 227.
taθra 5, 639, 640.
 O.P. *tigra* 13.
tiyri 505.
tusən 45.
tūm 581, 582.
taoxman 471, 472, 960.

θ.

θātairi 413, 414.
 O.P. *θura-vāhara* 444.
θwāša 588.
θrayō 960.
θri 573, 577, 578, 579.
θrisata 958.
θraētaona 574.

d.

daya 149.
daiñhu-paiti 52.
daḍaiti 253, 254.
dantan 246, 633, 634, 635.
darəya 13, 83, 253.
darəna 756.
dasa 13, 254, 258, 410, 416, 421.
dāta 227, 233.
 **dātabara* 959.
dāna 263.
 O.P. *dārayavauš* 341.
 O.P. *dārayāmiy* 353.
dəraza 434.
 O.P. *dubāla* 358.

duydar 43.
duma 44, 47, 310.
 O.P. **duwitiyam kāram* 958.
dužaka 439, 441.
dužah 439, 440, 442, 443, 446.
duždah 938, 939.
dūra 56, 61.
daēman 89, 246, 324.
daēva 85, 364.
daēza 87.
drājah 186.
draoya 105, 147, 960.
drvatāt 394.
dvar 616, 617.

t̃.

t̃bačšah 617.

n.

naxa 131, 132, 136.
nar 354.
nairya 275.
nava 275, 364, 382.
navaiti 382.
navadasa 255, 956.
navani 381.
nazda 934.
nāfah 315.
nāraya 108.
nəmah 12, 324, 453, 454, 457.
naṃan 20, 275, 319, 320, 321.
 **ni* + *√dub* 248.
 O.P. *naiba* 87, 308, 309.
naēma 324.
nyāka 115, 663.

p.

pacata 10.
pacaiti 156, 161, 162, 289.
paitidāna 279, 958.

paitidīta 220.
paθana 12, 237, 243, 245.
pāda 15, 246, 247, 254, 258, 287.
panca 9, 531.
pantan 645, 646.
parəna 289, 754, 755, 756, 757.
parəsu 793.
pairi 3.
**pairi + √varəz* 374.
**pairi-vazaiti* 324.
O.P. parthava 742.
paršti 74, 77, 82.
pasu 4, 420, 421.
pasca 287.
pascat 5, 856, 857, 859.
pāθra 577.
pāšna 921, 922, 923, 924.
pərətu 48, 736, 738.
pərəna 73, 755.
pərəsahi 73, 82.
pitar 24, 229, 231.
puθra 45, 48, 50, 567, 575, 576, 577, 579, 955.
paēsa 410.
**paourva-ayarə* 342.

f.

fra 681.
fratərəsaiti 74.
fraθanjayeiti 237, 240.
frapiθwa 589.
frasaocayāhi 158, 159.
frasnāyanta 348.
frazgaḍaiti 258.
frāymat 501.
fraš 681.
frya 345.
fšarəma 683.
fšu 955.
**fšu-pāna* 683.

b.

baxta 357.
baxdra 468.
baxšaiti 303.
O.P. Βαγίστανον 152.
banha 315.
badra 615.
bandāmi 651, 652, 653, 655.
baraiti 2.
barəša 779, 781.
barəziš 794.
bavāt 379.
O.P. bāxtri 467, 955.
O.P. bāji 178.
bāzu 437, 438.
bəraz(a) 73, 303.
bərazant 633.
O.P. bādaka 129.
buna 45.
būmi 56.
būza 59, 308.
baēvarə 376.
baēšaza 425.
baoidi 99, 264, 268, 271.
brātar 14, 221, 227, 228, 233, 700.
brvat 14, 960.

m.

O.P. magu 144.
maxši 480, 483.
mayna 278.
maðu 9, 270.
maiðya 620, 621, 622, 623.
maiðyana 7, 319.
mat-patifrasa 23, 960.
marəta 5.
mazga 933, 955.
mātar 229, 235, 356.
māh 451.
mərəya 73, 142, 144.
mərəta 319.
mərəθyu 960.

miθaoxta 130.

O.P. Μιθραδάτης 576.
mīžda 38, 939.
maēya 148.
maēθana 240, 245.
maēzənti 432.
maoiri 103, 354.
y.

yava 330, 331, 365, 376, 383.
yaska 330.
yazatanəm 12.
yākarə 3, 116.
yāna 16, 330.
yāma 331.
yuxta 331, 465.
yuvan 44.
O.P. yuviyā 331.
yušmāka 115, 960.
yušmākəm 927.
yvan 393.

r.

raya 153.
rāi 95.
rāna 18.
rāsta 349, 864.
raēcayaṭ 35 4.
raēšah 423.
raoxšna 492, 493, 494, 960.
raoyna 105, 349, 498, 499, 500, 959, 960.
raocah 99, 105, 107, 159, 166, 167, 168, 171, 349.
O.P. rantah 220.

v.

**vaðuvaka* 394.
vana 4, 372.
vafra 5, 364, 955.
varəka 80.
varəcanhvant 364.
varətata 367, 368.

varāda 366.
varāmi 83.
varāša p. ix, 78.
varšni 787, 788, 790.
 O.P. *vasiy* 369.
vāta 20, 228, 230, 235,
 364, 369, 372.
vāidi 15.
vāra 372.
vārayna 354.
vicinōi 28.
vidava 274.
vidu 274, 959.
vitārata 367.
vitasti 955.
vīra 35.
vīsaiti 12, 31, 221, 367,
 372, 376.
varāḍka 74, 80.
varāzyciti 367.
vāhrka 367, 369.
vohuni 456.
vaēti 85, 86, 228, 231,
 372.
vaēna 89, 283.
vaēnaiti 365.
vaoca 158.

s.

saxwārē 413, 901.
sacaiti 167.
sata 3.
safa 295, 299.
sarah 410.
sarata 5, 67, 410, 729,
 735, 737.
sarāda 13, 748.
sukuruna 116.
**suxta-zaranya* 463.
suxra 47, 48, 50, 414,
 476, 477, 955.
suši 419, 427.
sūka 62, 118, 124, 126,
 419.
sūirya 420.

saēna mārɣa 659.
saokantavant 100.
saocayāhi 101, 105.
scindayeiti 858, 859.
**staxma* 471.
staxra 310, 471.
stārā 14, 54, 349.
-stāna 871, 873.
stūna 54.
snavarā 875.
snaoḍa 875.
span 123, 125, 129, 879,
 881, 960.
spāda 16, 960.
spərāza 877.
spiš 25, 27, 54, 426,
 431.
spaēta 34, 89, 880, 881.
syāva 383, 891, 892.
srāvayeciti 379.
sraoni 101, 893, 960.
sra 955.

š.

šaiti 931, 932.
šavaite 4, 49, 423, 424,
 427, 930, 931.

z.

zanva 433.
zayata 330.
zayeciti 342.
zairi-gaona 32, 143.
zavarā 386.
zānu 18, 432.
zərādaya 67, 71, 432.
zimō 25, 27, 319, 436.
zrayah 935.

h.

haca 166, 455.
**haca-aḍairi* 33, 85,
 158, 274, 959.
hanjamana 455.
hapta 444, 450, 455,
 668, 669, 671, 673, 674.

hama 444.
haurva 771.
 O.P. *haldita* 358.
hazārā 5, 286.
hampāfrāiti 703.
hištaiti 31.
hizu 958.
hizva 25, 27, 936, 937.
hucithra 28, 168.
husravah 372.
huška 43, 446, 448, 450,
 455, 908, 909, 910.
hū 446.
haētu 89, 446.
haēna 444.
haoma 105.
hvarā 901, 902.

x^v.

x^vanhar 8.
√x^van 4.
√x^vap 666.
x^vasura 420, 422.
x^vafsata 688, 690, 900,
 903, 907.
x^varaiti 349, 901, 903,
 904, 906.
x^varānah 756.
x^vaēda 91, 254, 906.

C. Greek.

κόπος 413, 414.
 λείχω 358.
 ὥον 139, 377.

D. Latin.

gula 358.
labium 358.
ovum 377.
sturnus 862.
vespa 329.

E. Old High German.

kēla 358.

kiuwan 521.*leckôn* 358.*stâra* 862.*wafsa* 685.**F. Anglo-Saxon.***lippa* 358.**G. Old Bulgarian.***živati* 521.**H. Lithuanian.***lēziù* 358.*vapsà* 329, 685, 686.

CORRIGENDA

§ 2, l. 10, § 5, l. 45, § 458, l. 12-13, § 879, l. 10 omit Old Pers. *as(p)a*.4, l. 12 for *manuša* read *mānuša*.4, l. 14 for *karkaṭika* read *karkaṭikā*.4, l. 24 for *vanā* read *vana*.5, l. 46 for *paṣcaṭ* read *pascāṭ*.16, l. 12 for *upasthāpitva* read *upasthāpitvā*.68, l. 18, § 82, l. 15 for *ṛṣṭaku* read *ṛṣṭāku*.71, l. 8 for *mṛḍanaka* read *mṛḍānaka*.79, l. 5 for *mṛṣavādin* read *mṛṣāvādin*.82, l. 20 for *mṛttika* read *mṛttikā*.

87, l. 14 for 'green' read 'blue.'

91, l. 2 for *x'aēda* read *x'aēḍa*.115, l. 21 for *niyāka* read *nyāka*.133, l. 3 for *rēkha* read *rēkhā*.167, l. 5, § 168, l. 5 for *raucah* read *raocah*.184, l. 5 for *rājānah* read *rājānaḥ*.207, heading, l. 1 for *hr* read *hṛ*.329, l. 19 for *vapsa* read *vapsā*.337, l. 2, § 378, l. 2 for *chāya* read *chāyā*.339, l. 7 for *dēvalaya* read *dēvālaya*.342, l. 11-12 omit Skt. *maya* 'mother,' Sinh. *mañṇiyam*.372, l. 5, § 373, l. 4 for *vaṣpa* read *vāṣpa*.374, l. 12, § 734, l. 4 for *vartikā* read *vartakā*.395, l. 10, § 401, l. 12 for *śīṛsa*, *śīrsa* read *śīṛṣa*.

396, l. 6 for 'once' read 'excrement.'

423, l. 3, § 424, l. 3, § 427, l. 2 for *šavaiti* read *šavaite*.458, l. 4 for *idānim* read *idānīm*.459, l. 5 for *jyā* read *jya*.464, l. 6 for *mukta* read *muktā*.472, l. 3 for *taoxmān* read *taoxman*.486, l. 4 for *kṣiyate* read *kṣiyatē*.495, l. 5 for *dogdhum* read *dōgdhum*.

§ 562, l. 1 for assimilation read change.

§ 612, l. 5 for *drākṣa* read *drākṣā*.Read throughout *Āvantī*, *Waxī* for *Avantikā*, *Wāxī*.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY INDO-IRANIAN SERIES

Edited by A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON,
Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University.

Volume I. **A Sanskrit Grammar for Beginners.** With Graded Exercises, Notes and Vocabulary. By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON. *In preparation.*

The aim of this work is a practical one ; it is designed to furnish a book for the study of the classical Sanskrit in American colleges and universities.

Volume II. **Indo-Iranian Phonology :** With Special Reference to the Middle and New Indo-Iranian Languages. By LOUIS H. GRAY, Ph.D., Sometime Fellow in Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University.

Cloth, 8vo, pp. xviii + 264, \$3.00.

A brief statement of the phonetic developments undergone by the principal Indo-Iranian languages from the Sanskrit, Avestan and Old Persian through the Pali, the Prakrits and Pahlavi down to the Hindi, Singhalese, New Persian, Afghan and other Indo-Iranian dialects. Special efforts have been taken to make the work as convenient as possible for reference.

Volume III. **A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama.** By MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, Jr., M.A., Sometime Fellow in Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University. *Approaching completion.*

The design of this bibliography is to give as complete a list as possible of all printed and manuscript Sanskrit plays and of articles and works relating to the Hindu drama.

Volume IV. **An Index Verborum of the Fragments of the Avesta.** By MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, Jr., M.A.

Cloth, 8vo, pp. x + 106, \$2.00.

This index collects in convenient form all examples of each word found in the hitherto discovered fragments not included in Geldner's edition of the Avesta.

Other volumes in the series are planned for.

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS,

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, Agents,

